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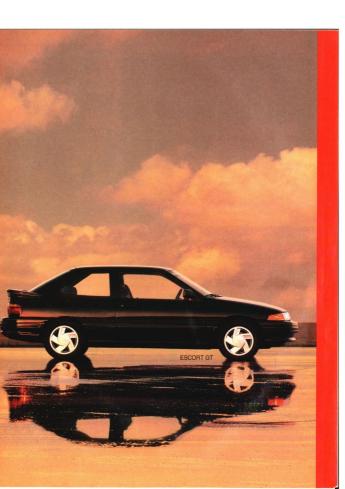
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Vol. 137 No. 26

JULY 1, 1991



THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

COVER STORY

28 WORLD:

New Coke Kings

With Medellín's drug dons behind bars, the scepter passes to the Cali cartel ALSO: Could the African National Congress govern South Africa?

20 NATION:

Rightward, Ho! The Supreme Court conservatives are now calling the shots

50 BUSINESS:

Credit Cards Go on a Spree Consumers will benefit from a binge of fresh competition



8 / CALI'S CLEVER RUSES: COKE IN A COCONUT

INTERVIEW NASA's chief says the space station has to fly	1
TECHNOLOGY Why weather forecasts are getting cloudier	58
SCIENCE Did a comet kill the dinosaurs? Here's the smoking gun	60
ETHICS How discriminating can the Boy Scouts be?	65
A judge approves male bonding at V.M.I.	66
PRESS Doctored quotes are something a libel jury can ponder	68
BOOKS A picnic hamper full of summer novels	70
CINEMA Forget blockbusters. Here are the two most beguiling movies	75
VIDEO Star-powered storytelling comes to children's video	76
MUSIC Who is making N.W.A. No. 1, and why	78
ESSAY Barbara Ehrenreich argues that flesh is for fun, not flaying	80
DEPARTMENTS GRAPEVINE	17
LETTERS 4 PEOPLE	63
TRAVELER'S ADVISORY14 MILESTONES	68





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LETTERS

EVIL

"If bad isn't bad, how will we know that good is good?"

Ann Therese Palmer Lake Forest, Ill.



Does evil exist [Essay, June 10]? Of course! It exists because human beings can make choices. Some of the decisions are tragic and, yes, evil. But would we rather be creatures of instinct or blind force and have no freedom to choose? We must learn to be responsible for our choices.

Eunice J. Fleming Brawley, Calif.

No one commits evil except in pursuit of "improvement"—at least in the eyes of the doer. Evil is the shadow cast by good. John A. Humbach White Plains, N.Y.

I always like it when Thut ween from hard news to the philosophical. Your Essay on the new for the properties of the proton the properties of the properties of the best of the properties of the properties of the state of the properties of the properties of the real real results of the properties of the product lags to just about everything. Somewhere between the two, I rationalize that now that the properties of the properties of the properties of the properties of the proton of the properties of the properties of the properties of the properties of the proton of the properties of the properties of the properties of the properties of the proton of the properties of the properties of the properties of the properties of the proton of the properties of the properties of the proton of the properties of the properties of the proton of the properties of the properties of the proton of the properties of the properties of the proton of the properties of the properties of the proton of the properties of the properties of the proton of the properties of the properties of the proton of the properties of the properties of the proton of the

Bucks Burnett Dallas Let's do away with the mysticism and superstition of the past and be brave enough to recognize that evil is a term applied to behavior or events that are socially unacceptable. Some cultures will view an eclipse of the moon as evil and find that murder in certain circumstances can be justifiable. Other cultures may justify the Society and culture thange, and therefore evil will change.

Neil Murray Biggin Hill, England

Evil results from man's repudiation of God, not God's repudiation of man. J. Erskine Ashbee Mobile

Good and evil are purely subjective. What we experience is either pleasant or unpleasant to a degree. As I see it, God does not exist; Hitler was a paranoid schizophrenic with political ambitions; AIDs is a disease; Saddam Hussein is a calm, intelligent man and a gangster.

Saffron Walden, England

The concept of evil is the most striking feature in a tapestry of nonsense woven by religions, political ideologues and other agents of supermorality. In the human world, the label "evil" gives us a license to isolate those aspects of our behavior that we find distasteful, allowing us to sly awayout from the real and knotted condition of ourselves and our societies. Hitler, Stalin, Pol Pot are in each of us.

Andrew Meichan Falkirk, Scotland

When the time comes that no one any longer believes in hell, what restraint will there be upon wickedness and evil?

George Mitsopulos Unionville, Ont.

"Does evil exist?" sounds like a rhetorical question that one mouse might ask another mouse in the forest after examining an owl pellet composed of bleached rodent bones and matted hair.

Robert Seymour Tokyo

I shall know there is heaven on earth when our moral alternatives stop being the lesser of two evils and start becoming the better of two goods.

Paul D. McNamara New York City

Evil exists because free will exists.

Hugh Maguire

Greenwich, Conn.

Lance Morrow's piece on evil was thorough and thoughtful coverage of an elusive issue. After a devastating accident to a good and honest man I love very much, my sanity can survive only by convincing myself that evil and good must be random. Loretta Ann Farrell

Yonkers, N.Y.

Niagara Falls

The essence of evil is simple. It's live spelled backward.

Michael H. Brown

Oliver Stone's JFK

Your suggestion that I tried to stop the making of the movie Libra, a fictionalized account of the J.F.K. assassination, is outrageous [CINEMA, June 10]. No one I know in the film business-not even competing studio heads-has the power to stop any movie. The dollar rules. Your mistake is in keeping with the obvious discreditation of our movie. Former New Orleans district attorney Jim Garrison is called, without any justification, a "wide-eyed conspiracy buff" and "far out." Who are your "experts"? You review an unauthorized and outdated draft of the script, which amazes me since TIME usually reviews finished movies. After 25 years, don't our movie, JFK, and Garrison deserve a serious and fresh hearing, not old attitudes?

Oliver Stone Director, JFK Dallas

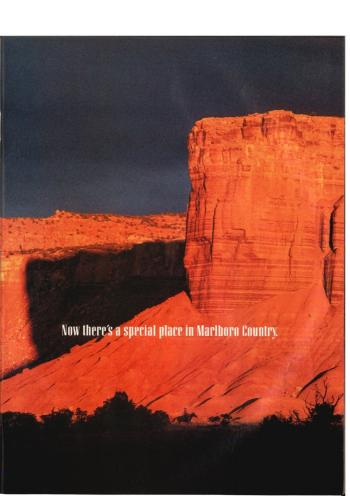
Anti-Los Angelization

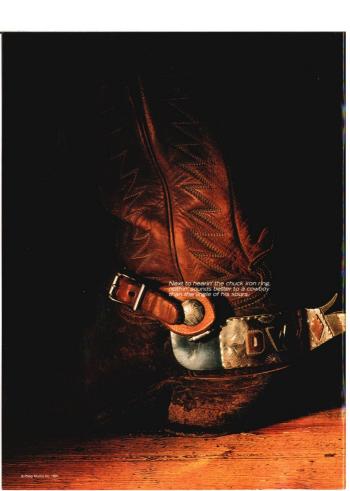
The strains of those people complaining about their areas growing to be live here [Nation Search and amusingly to most of us who knowledges aread amusingly to most of us who live here [Natroot, June 10]. We admit that this city and its environs may appear at times despoiled and that our problems are pressing and serious. But we also acknowledge that we live in a city of overwhelming cultural, economic and geophysical vitality, diversity and opportunity, Because of their attitude of rejection of the city's attributes, our neighbors can est assured they will be in no imminent danger of becoming another Los Angeles.

David Neal Los Angeles

Ouch! What can I say? I live in Los Angles, and I just look a punch from your piece on the Los Angelization of the West-or U.S. Even though I am an eighth-generation Californian and fifth-generation Angelien. I admit there are problems may be a problem on the control of the c

Tracy Abbott Los Angeles





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LETTERS

Gunning Down Wildlife

The article about shooting helpless animals [Eritics, June 10] differentiated these gun lowers from "true hunters," Actually, it is a matter of degree. Most "sports hunting" involves using high-tech weapons to gun down helpless wildlife, often connered by dogs. Those hunters who executed the animals a few feet from their cages did not bother with the pretense of the house. Hunting is often associated with the control of th

Killing such beautiful and endangered animals in cold blood—how cowardly! As a former resident of Tanzania and a lover of exotic animals, I pray that the governments in our society will punish to the fullest those responsible for this cruelty.

Azim Hirji Toronto

Regular hunting is bad enough, but "canned hunting" is truly evil: a celebration of greed and cruelty.

Julia Buonocore New York City

Televised Murder

Those of us who support the death penalty will welcome having the executions of murderers televised, provided the fate of the victim and his or her family is also shown [Law, June 3], All televised executions should be preceded by pictures of the victim's body, exactly as found, along with the family left behind. Society could then make a truly balanced judgment regarding the justice of the death penalty.

Charles G. Smith Rancho Santa Fe, Calif.

I think the video camera should stop at the death-chamber door. Taping everything up to that point—all the grim preliminaries—would show unforgettably the price for murder. The people have a right to see it if they so choose.

Edward Le Comte North Egremont, Mass.

In my 47 years, I have seen a suicide by shotgun, immediate deaths from heart attacks, and documentaries, news broadcasts and books with pictures of all kinds of death. I don't object to showing executions on television. I just won't watch them.

Barbara Dolan Heber Springs, Ark.

Garage in Space

Dennis Overbye suggests that spacestation Freedom be canceled [SPACE, June 10]. This so-called garage in space would

LETTERS

contain the highest technology available from an international group of engineers. Without it human exploration of the cosmos will be severely crippled. No one ever wants to fund large-scale science projects that seem at first to offer little gain to the average person but almost always provide significant benefits later.

Robert P. Williams Danbury, Conn.

Space will be explored, and the nation that leads the way will dominate the following years, as Spain did after discovery of the New World. Unfortunately, we will not be that nation, nor do we deserve to be because of our lack of commitment to space exploration. One should lead, follow or get out of the way. It appears that those entrusted with charting our nation's future have chosen the last course.

Mark J. Bolton Grand Terrace, Calif.

At a time when this country is suffering a recession, the national debt is in the trillions and many hardworking Americans are losing their jobs, it is lunacy for the Federal Government to spend billions on a space station. When we had money to burn, it seemed a worthwhile challenge. To support this pie-in-the-sky project now smacks of a "let them eat cake" attitude.

Biane Leonhardt

East Brunswick, N.J.

It is obvious to me that American scienists think they are the greatest. Why can't they get together with the rest of the world and help build an international space station? It would cut the cost. The time for going it alone is over.

William E. Peterson

Aire sur l'Adour, France

Starving Children

Now that the honeymoon with the Arab shelis is nearing its end, lef's examine the true dimensions of the Desert Storm "victory" [HaLATIN, June 10]. How dare our government utter the words human rights when it so callously ignores the proportion of the control o

Angela Stanat Hacienda Heights, Calif.

Why isn't Saddam Hussein blamed for this suffering? He created this tragedy for his people. Time reported earlier that Saddam has apparently hidden millions of dollars for his personal use. Why isn't there a call for him to release these millions to buy food and initiate hospital repairs? If the

people of Iraq don't want to rid themselves of the person who caused so much of their sorrow, why should we feel guilty for what's happened in their country?

Debora Wilson Long Beach, Calif.

Pink Protector

Regardless of the MGM Pathé suit against agay and lesbian organization calling itself Pink Panthers [GRAPEVINE, June 10], my late husband Maurice Norman Richlin would have loved the idea that his Pink Panther is being used to protect people. As a liberal screenwriter, he would have been repelled by gay bashing.

Louise J. Richlin Los Angeles

Is Black Evil?

Evil is not black, say numerous readers who voiced objections to Tamis's use of black for its Evil cover story [June 10]. "It is regretable that you promoted this false symbolic equation," wrote Edward R. Danks, pastor of Noroton Presbyterian Church in Darien, Conn. Mary Lou Bonney Kap of Cresskill, NJ., felt we expression of black with evil: "Wake up, or just turn off the

BLACK

alarm and go back to sleep." Said the Rev. Michael Piazzo Dallas: "Phriting ewi in black only perpetuates the racism that still rades in this country. That is ewil." Kent Medmann of Carpinteria, Cairl, noted, "Evil can be of jelf-) bean hues, not part Vader black." Though the roots of the word are confusing, to the ancient Methrews black symbolized death, humilitation and mourning because black absorbs all colors and buries the light.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR should be addressed to: TIME Magazine Letters

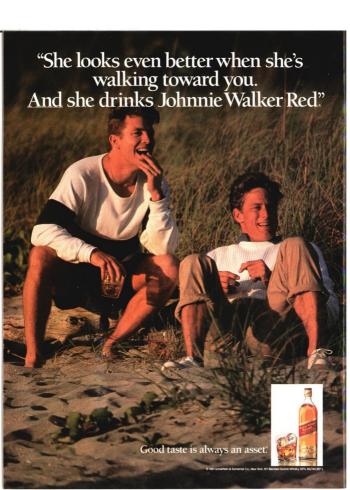
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INTERVIEW

The \$40 Billion Controversy

NASA's chief, Admiral RICHARD TRULY, argues that an American space station is a better investment than any social program

By JEROME CRAMER WASHINGTON

Q. Congress debated eight hours before approving your space station earlier this month. But many remain unconvinced that the benefits of the project match its price tag. Why does the U.S. need it?

A. There are several answers, but essentially we need to build space station Freedom with our foreign partners to keep the leadership position the U.S. holds in space. Look at how foreign countries now hold the dominant economic positions in so many parts of American life. That's not true of space. In this area we are still the world's leader. We've spent \$5 billion in the station's development and definition. We've created a complex international partnership. We need, I believe, to keep this position as No. 1. It's a matter of both world leadership and economics.

Q. But for \$30 billion or \$40 billion? Couldn't we keep this leadership position by building something smaller, cheaper and more manageable?

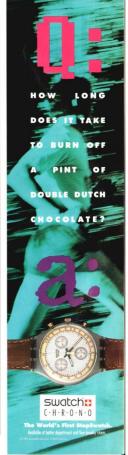
A. Space station Freedom is an inevitable step in the march to space exploration. It is the linchpin of planning for the entire manned space program. It is the only way to put humans in space, to learn about

their physiology so that generations in the next century can explore the cosmos more safely and confidently. Keep in mind, the fight we won in the House of Representatives to keep the station alive was about more than the space station. It was a fight for the entire space program. It's unthinkable that this nation, based on our history, science and technology for the past 30 years, would turn its back on manned space efforts.

Q. In these times of budget limitations, can we afford the luxury of manned space programs? What are the payoffs?

A. On one level, various studies show that for every dollar spent on manned space exploration there is an economic benefit of from \$7 to \$9. Freedom will pay dividends by providing new research in the areas of environmental control and life-support research, power generation and health-care technologies. But a large part of space exploration pays off in ways that can't be quantified. The discovery factor can't be downplayed; the fact that we'll be in space looking at areas of science that could lead to cures for disease can't be ignored. It's there, but you can't put a dollars-and-cents price tag on that. It's like trying to weigh the cost and benefits of going to the moon.





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INTERVIEW

Q. Doesn't this sound a little like a Republican "trickle-down" theory of science spend money and hope it helps someone later or results in a cure for cancer or some other disease? Why not spend the money directly on scientific research or give the money to schools to improve education?

A. This is not a Republican idea, and the space station is not a Republican project. The strong bipartisan vote in the House proved that. But to answer your question, if we spent the space-station dollars directly on education or housing or whatever, it still wouldn't cure the problems of cities or schools. There is n't enough money in the NASA budget to cure those prolimens. If NASA were cannibalized that way, you wouldn't have a space station or a leadershiprote in space. We also wouldn't hower obushed the pressing problems have touched the pressing problems and the production of the property of t

Q. But couldn't this money be spent directly on science projects within NASA to greater

effect?

A. There's no guarantee that the money cut out of the space station would remain in NASA. When the House Appropriations Committee earlier tried to kill the space station, the money did not go space station, the money did not go store, exertainly not to science within works. The money would most likely fund ANSA. The money would most likely fund so that the space station to the space station of the space station would be spaced first excisence spending are politically naive. Killing the space station would hur all NASA programs.

Q. The station has gone through at least half a dozen designs and redesigns. It has been reduced from eight astronauts to four. Are you convinced that this current plan is the best space station possible?

A. Space station Freedom will meet its objectives. It's time to get the sketches off the boards and build it. If we go through another redesign, it could be the end of the century before the station is ever built. I believe this is the space station for us to build. It will perform world-class lifescience studies that are needed to explore space. If it is killed, it will totally destroy the balance in NASA between manned and unmanned exploration. Again, this attack on the station was an attack on manned spaceflight. If Freedom is killed, it will set back space exploration-both manned and with robots-at least a generation. We've got to walk through this door to find out more about the effect of space on man before we can continue exploring the universe.

Q. Some members of Congress hit you hard. One called it "Space Station Lite—one-third the mission for nearly four times the price." Another said it was simply an employment program for the aerospace community. Your reaction?

ILEKVIEW

A. Such charges are irresponsible, At a time when the defense industry is laying off employees, the space station promises to employ 100,000 workers. This program is at the very essence of our nation's economic viality. It's not about jobs so much as it is vision, daring, exploring. These are the things that made America grant. Killing the station would underent our leadership role in science and high technology. It would hurt our aerospace industry—one of the few areas in which we still enjoy a fair the control of the contro

Q. To pay for the space station, the House essentially capped all other increases in NASA programs such as advanced physics research and space-shuttle funding. Did your other scientists object?

A. Some did, but we are working with the Senate to get the funds restored. Those projects have been planned for years. We haven't given up the fight for those funds. By the way, I would fight just as hard if nonmanned programs were threatened by cuts. I'd come out of my chair if Congress tried to cannibalize one program to pay for another.

Q. What about NASA's program to build a hypersonic-transport plane that could take people across the Pacific in a matter of hours? Is this still on the mark?

A. The U.S. canceled the first supersonictransport program because of environmental concerns. It was too noisy to make economically realistic. But research continues at NASA on a new generation of planes and engines. Our job is to fund basic research and then let the private companies—Boeing and others—decide whether the plane should be built.

Q. What about Mission to Planet Earth, another multibillion-dollar NASA project? Will

Congress take alm at this expensive wenture?

A. The program is poorly understood and not promises unbelievable benefits. It's essentially a large number of satellites and earth-observing stations that will accurately measure the earth's atmosphere. We'll be able to see where the ozone layer has been damaged, for example, and see if something can be done to fix it. It's an indication that NASA funds programs looking at both today's problems and tomorrow's possibilities.

Q. You've just had astronauts in orbit for an extended period. That's something you used to do. Do you miss being in space? Is it hard for you to sit on the ground and watch them?

A. You bet it is. Until this recent work on the budget, I'd attended every launch since Challenger. I love to see them go up and to be there when they land. I'd trade slots with any of them in a minute.

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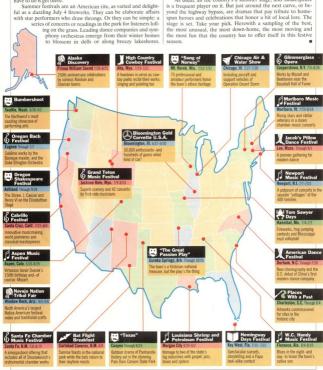
TRAVELER'S ADVISORY

Compiled by Emily Mitchell

t's a picnic, it's a party, it's summertime, and the hills—valleys and city streets too—are alive with the sound of music, of drama, of good times. The pageants go on all across the land; all you have to do is get there.

Opera companies and rep theaters haunt the deserts at night. Cultural traditions and folkways are everywhere on display. This year is the bicentennial of Mozart's death. New England mountain greenery will echo with his works; a traveler can head westward, enjoying the composer's pieces in big towns and small and, in late August, take in a grand Amadeus finale in the vastness of the Hollywood Bowl.

As usual, all the country's a summer stage, and Shakespeare



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GRAPEVINE

By DAVID ELLIS / Reported by Linda Williams

THE ARMS PIPELINE THAT CAME FIRST

A book due out next month makes provocative disclosures about the tangled relationship between U.S. and Israeli intelligence services, According to Major General Avraham Tamir, a retired senior Israeli defense official quoted in Dangerous Liaison, the REAGAN ADMINISTRATION approved Israeli arms shipments to Tehran for use against Iraq in 1981, long before the Irancontra affair. Authors Andrew and Leslie Cockburn say the transfers were part of a strategy to head off Soviet influence in the gulf region. The book also describes in detail Operation KK Mountain, in which the CIA secretly paid Israel

as much as \$20 million annually throughout the 1960s to operate as its surrogate in the Third World. Security sources also told the writers that the Israelis have placed remotecontrolled nuclear devices in the Golan Heights to deter an invasion by Syria.



Did Iran fight Iraq with early U.S.

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JUST PASSING THROUGH, THANKS

Mikhail Gorbachev's crackdown in the Baltics has not stopped two other republics from defying the Soviet military. A U.S. analyst monitoring the U.S.S.R. says there is virtually an open border between Iran and the Central Asian state of TURKMEN-ISTAN and parts of AZERBAIJAN. Bowing to popular pressure, border guards have deserted their posts, allowing a free flow of goods and people in both directions.

EVER GET THE FEELING YOU'RE BEING WATCHED?

Two men are keeping a close eve on DAN QUAYLE, and they aren't members of his Secret Service detail, BOB WOODWARD and DAVID BRODER of the Washington Post plan to track the Vice President for the next few months for a series of articles on his conduct in office. White House officials, worried about the inevitable rash of "Is he ready?" stories during the '92 campaign, have told Ouavle's staff to avoid the Post. But Ouavle decided to cooperate, figuring the two reporters would gain access to advisers anyway.

Do your children watch too much television?

VOX POP

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Do you watch too much television?



PUTTING THE BLAME ON NORM

Congressional Democrats are seething over NORMAN SCHWARZKOPF's condemnation of Washington "fairies" who exaggerated the dangers of war. Many legislators contend that during a Rivadh briefing last autumn, the general emphasized the strength of the Iraqi army and predicted as many as 20,000 U.S. casualties. "This guy contributed in no small degree to the Democratic opposition to the war," complains a Senate staffer.

NO BREATHING ALLOWED

Should works of art carry a government health warning? A piece being displayed at New York City's New Museum of Contemporary Art could have used such a caveat. When Eclipse of the Earth by Kazuo Katase was installed last month, the work's dusty red coloring agent contained zinc sulfide and barium sulfate. The chemicals caused severe respiratory and skin problems for some emplovees, they claim. A staff memo admitted that "ingestion of the pigment will cause illness, and the inhalation of the dust is known to cause lung irritation," Although the powder was replaced 12 days later, three workers resigned and a fourth entered the hospital for treatment.



COME BACK ...BUT **NOT AT**

Schwarzenegger Macaulay Culkin Al Pacino

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THE SAME PRICE The Terminator

THEY DO

Less than \$1 million \$11 million jet ut \$50,000

TIME, JULY 1, 1991

FROM THE PUBLISHER

44 In yr reporter who cowers crime knows that when the Blashbang goes off at the front door, the swart ream is storming the back door," says correspondent Elaine Shannon. And so, when Pable Exobar Gaviria, the ferecious leader of the Medellin drug cartel, surrendered to authorities in Colombia last week, Shannon knew that the real story lay eksewhere. "Escobar is a terrific sound-and-light show," she says. "But people of such towering stupidity abway flame out," In the reyes, the group to watch is the Cali cartel. And, as derlty laid out by her in one of this week's cover stories, its members have the brains.

"I look at organized-crime groups the way I might analyze companies in which I am considering investing," says Shannon, who has kept tabs on the Cali group since 1984. "Medellin had more wholesale and retail outlets, but the organizations were sloppy and high-handed. Cali, on the other hand, is always finding new ways to handle high volume with efficiency and security. They're like Dertoit and the Janganese automakers used to be."

Shannon is the author of Despendox Latin Drug Lords, U.S. Lawmen, and the War America Cart Vim. The book was turned into last year's Emmy-winning mini-series Drug Wars: The Camarena Stors, She began working on our cover piece last fall pinterviewing U.S. drug-trafficking experts. In March she went to Colombia to describe the world of the cartel chiefs.

Meanwhile, Time's Latin America bureau chief, John Moody, and Bogotá reporter Tom Quinn had been angling for an interview with cartel patriarch Gilberto Rodriguez Orejuela. Finally, word came in April that the "Chess Player" was ready to talk. Moody and Quinn flew from Bogotá to Cali and waited tensely



Elaine Shannon, in Washington, looks at organized-crime groups the way she might analyze companies for investment

The Medellín cartel is a terrific sound-and-light show, but the Cali group has the brains

for a phone call. "We began to worry: Hast Rodriguez changed its mind or, worse, was this some elaborate trapp." John recalls. All the call contained to the call contained to the call contained to the call contained to call cont

Robert L Miller

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is only given to us in trust.

Every choice we make

about the earth, air and water

around us

must be made with the objective

of preserving it

for generations to come.

This is how

we will be judged.



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IUSTICE

Right Face!

In the final stretch of the term, a conservative majority solidifies its hold on the Supreme Court and prepares an assault on the Warren legacy

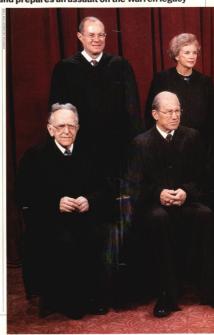
By RICHARD LACAYO

he former Supreme Court Justice William Brennan used to the Lecks. "Five votes can do anything around here." That was in the days when Brennan regularly stitched together a narrow liberal majority on a high bench that was delicately balanced between left and right. Those days are over. Five votes can still do anything. But now it's the court's increasingly assertive right wing that usually has them—and sometimes more.

As the court heads toward the conclusion of its latest term, it has finally completed its decades-long transformation from the liberal bastion of former Chief Justice Earl Warren into an aggressively conservative body-one that seems poised to alter some of the major rulings of the past. To fellow conservatives, the right-wing majority may look like the cavalry galloping to the rescue. Battered liberals are more apt to see them as the ravaging horsemen of the Apocalypse. The only question is how far they will go in undoing the liberal legacy in such areas as church-state relations, individual liberties, the rights of criminal defendants and abortion

The new majority, led by Chief Justice William Rehnquist, has been building in slow motion. In the early 1970s, during Rehnquist's first few terms on what was still a liberal-leaning bench, he was so iso-lated that his clerks too kto calling him the Lone Ranger. These days he no longer trick adner: he routinely joins a group that includes Reagan appointees Antonin cloudes Reagan appointees Antonin Colombia and Bush appointee David Souter. Having written only a few rulings since joining the court this term. Souter remains something of an enigma; yet he has clearly provided the right wing—spearheaded by

Family portrait of the nine Supreme Court Justices: standing, Kennedy, O'Connor, Scalia, Souter; seated, Blackmun, White, Rehnquist, Marshall, Stevens



Rehnquist and Scalia—with a crucial fifth vote in a number of important cases in which his predecessor Brennan would almost certainly have been on the opposing side.

No rare the conservatives stricly lumitch thouse five votes Byron White is likely to join them on some cases, often those involving criminal law and police powers. Even John Paul Stevens supports them on many free-speech issues. That leaves lissues for good Marshall and Harry Blackmun, both Sag. the oldest members of the court, as its only unbudging liberals. "The swing Justices no longer control the outcome," says Dake University has professor Walter Dellinger. "There's so woing Justice, extra linger." There's so woing Justice, extra linger. "There's no woing Justice, extra

For years the court spared lawmakers

the hard task of resolving difficult issues like abortion and school desegregation by imposing solutions in a constitutional wrapping. The new court is far more likely to toos such explosive matters back to state legislatures and Capitol Hill. "We're playing a rearguard action just trying to keeping a rearguard action just trying to keepwhat we have," says California Democrat have the properties of the properties of the clary Subcommittee on Covil and Constitutional Rights. "Congress has to do the work we had counted on the court to do."

In its next term, which begins in October, the court will probably have a clear opportunity to overturn the 1973 Roe v. Wade ruling that granted women the constitutional right to have an abortion—just as the presidential election season gets under way. Last week both houses of the Louisian legislature overrode Governor Buddy Roemer's veto of a bill that would prohibit wittually all abortions, except to save the life of the mother or in some cases of rape or incest. The new law was rushed before a federal judge in New Orleans, who will hold a hearing next month on its constitutionality, the first step on the road to the Supreme Court, where antiabortion laws from Pennsylvania, Utah and Guam are also headed.

Any of those laws could provide the court with an opportunity to overturn Roe—a prospect that seemed nearer than ever after last month's decision in Rust v. Sullivan. In that case, by a 5-to-4 vote in which Souter sided with the conservatives,



CONFLICTING VIEWS OF JUSTICE

WILLIAM REHNQUIST:

"Government...may
validly choose to fund
childbirth over abortion."

 —Majority opinion in Rust v. Sullivan, which forbade federally funded health clinics to discuss abortion

SANDRA DAY O'CONNOR:
"This court is not
empowered to forbid law
enforcement practices
simply because it
considers them
distasteful."

—Majority opinion in Florida v. Bostick, which approved the police search of bus passengers' luggage without a warrant

THURGOOD MARSHALL:

"The majority itself tosses aside established precedents without explanation, disregards the will of Congress, fashions rules that defy...

reasonable expectations."

—Dissenting opinion in McCleskey v. Zant, which made throre difficult for death-row prisoners to petition for review of their cases

BYRON WHITE: "Today a majority of the court, without any justification . . . dislodges one of the fundamental tenets of our criminal justice system."

 Dissenting opinion in Arizona v. Fulminante, which ruled that coerced confessions could sometimes be used as court evidence

Nation

the court ruled that doctors, nurses and other care providers at clinics that accept federal funds cannot even mention abortion to their patients. "I've never had much hope for this court," says Colleen O'Connor, public-education director for the A.C.L.U. "But I was never as dispirited as when it came down with the Rust decision. In some ways, it's not safe to bring a civilliberties case to this court.

Making the court unsafe for all kinds of cases is part of the conservative agenda. A sampling of last week's rulings gives a good indication of the court's current rightward

► In a 5-to-4 vote, the Justices made it more difficult for inmates to win lawsuits to improve their prison living conditions. Now they must prove that prison administrators had acted with "deliberate indifference" to basic human needs

►In another 5-to-4 decision, the court ruled last week that states and local governments may ban nude dancers in bars and other adults-only establishments. The decision was narrow in its effects-Gstrings and pasties make the dancing O.K. under the Indiana ban-but Rehnquist's defense of the law may open the way to other stricter laws governing sexual conduct

▶ Voting 6 to 3, the Justices decided that police may search a bus passenger's baggage if he agrees, even if they have no warrant or probable cause to suspect him of any crime, "Working the buses," as the police call it, has become a common method of interrupting the interstate flow of drugs.

Last week's ruling followed a string of recent decisions that gave police the power to conduct searches without warrants. The court also decided during this term that suspects who were arrested without warrants may be held for up to 48 hours before police press charges.

The conservative sway is by no means absolute; the liberal wing can still claim an occasional victory. Last week the Justices ruled 6 to 3 that the 1965 Voting Rights Act applied to the election of state and local judges. That gives blacks and other minorities an opportunity to bring lawsuits to change voting methods in the 41 states where some judges are chosen by ballot. In an important victory for women's rights, the court ruled unanimously in March to disallow so-called fetal-protection policies that har fertile women from jobs that might pose dangers to an unborn child.

ehnquist and his fellow conservatives moved aggressively this term to capitalize on their maiority-even to the point of deciding issues that had not been formally raised before them. For example, they ruled that coerced confessions were not automatically barred from use as trial evidence, though the case at hand did not require them to pronounce on that question. In another case, involving the rights of crime victims, they have asked both parties to reargue a Burger Court ruling that neither side had questioned.

A court that approves challenges to settled law tends to invite more of them. To

anyone unhappy with the legacies of the old Supreme Court, the new Supreme Court appears to be sending this message: come up and see me sometime. With several of the Justices scornful of court-imposed restrictions on church-state relations, new attempts to restore school prayer are likely, as well as laws that approve the use of government funds for parochial schools.

After decades of waiting to reverse the liberal court trend, Rehnquist's impatience is almost palpable. Conservatives often used to accuse the Warren Court of taking decisions out of the hands of Congress and state legislatures. But even as his court is kicking some issues back to lawmakers, the Chief Justice has been willing to do some of his own legislating from the bench. A revealing case in point is his persistent effort to streamline capital punishment. For years Rehnquist urged Congress to pass a law that would prohibit death-row inmates from repeatedly filing so-called habeas corpus petitions requesting that their verdicts or sentences be reconsidered in court. Rehnquist complained that they needlessly dragged out death sentences and crowded the court with mostly frivolous petitions.

But legitimate habeas corpus petitions have been crucial to death-row inmates whose lawyers, many of them lacking experience in complex capital cases, often miss crucial issues at the trial level, Some 40% of all death sentences are overturned because a federal judge agrees there was some constitutional error in the verdict or sentence. Much of the legal profession was therefore pushing for a compromise that



Abortion Test Cases

Ith a surprisingly strong vote in both houses, Louisiana's legislature last week overrode Governor Buddy Roemer's veto and enacted the strictest antiabortion law in the land. The measure imposes up to 10 years in prison and a \$100,000 fine for any doctor who performs an illegal abortion, although the woman undergoing the procedure would not be punished. Exceptions would be allowed only if the mother's life was threatened by pregnancy or if she had been the victim of rape or incest. Ignoring Roemer's demands for broader protections for such victims, however, the legislature added the requirement that the alleged act of rape or incest be reported to the police within one week for the abortion to be considered legal. Said the Governor: "[The law is] going to be expensive to litigate, impossible to implement, totally unfair to women who have been brutalized and raped

Framers of Louisiana's bill hope it can provide the test case that will prompt the U.S. Supreme Court to reconsider the landmark 1973 Roe v. Wade decision. But Louisiana's law is competing for that distinction against existing laws in three other iurisdictions:

PENNSYLVANIA. Enacted in 1989, Pennsylvania's statute could well be the first to reach the high court because it is the furthest along in the federal appeals process. Last year a federal diswould reduce such petitions while guaranteeing that indigent Defendants could obtain more competent attorneys when they were tried for capital crimes.

But Rehnquist would not relent. When both federal judges and Democratic leaders in Congress resisted his efforts to expedite executions, he moved to achieve the same result from the high bench this term. His wehicle was a Georgia case, McCleskey v. Zam. Though it meant going further for the case required, the productive flower than the case required, the productive flower of setting up procedural obstacles to repeated habes corpus requests.

If Rehaquis is the muscle behind the present conservative majority. Scalia provides the intellect. Despite his affable manent, Scalia can be interest in debate and uncompromising in his rulings. As the only present court remarked with the majority compression conpresent court member who was once a fulltime law professor, he is prone to lecture
this colleagues—consentiense in injudicious
terms. In a 1988 concurring opinion, foreample, he called one of O'Connor's arguments "irrational" and said of another that
"it cannot be taken seriously."

Scalics strongly tools legal principles and unyielding namer prevent him from playing the role of court politician that was a specialty of William Brennan, who could adroitly adjust his written opinions to attact the votes of his wavering fellow judges. "When Scalia states his view in the strongest terms, often the other conservative Justices drop a footnote saying they don't necessarily agree," says often to drotter of the control of th

him especially influential with judges in the lower federal courts, where they appreciate the clear guidance he offers as to how they should apply Supreme Court precedents.

One article of faith among conservative jurists is that the courts are no place for resolving questions better left to the legislative branch. The Supreme Court is already taking that to heart. During this term it agreed to hear arguments in just 125 cases, down sharply from 170 two years ago. One reason for the decline is that since twothirds of all current federal judges are Reagan or Bush appointees, Rehnquist and his like-minded colleagues are seeing fewer lower-court rulings with which they sharply disagree. The high court's conservative majority has also been handing down decisions, such as the one last week on inmate lawsuits, that make cases more difficult to bring to trial and to win. "The argument that has the greatest effect nowadays is for judicial economy," says Columbia University law professor Vincent Blasi, "They're working very hard to cut down on opportunities for litigation."

t the same time, liberal groups are steering clear of the federal courts, fearing deferal at the lower levels or worse at the top, where their cases might be seized upon as an opportunity to overturn important liberal precedents. They haven't given up this representation of the properties of the pro

aries, these days some state constitutions have been interpreted by the courts to provide more specific guarantees of individual liberties than the federal Bill of Rights.

What hope do liberals have now that the tide is running against them on the Supreme Court? One recourse is to turn to Capitol Hill. When the high bench acts to interpret congressional legislation, Congress can vote to overrule the Justices-if that vote can survive a presidential veto. That's a big if. House and Senate committees both have approved legislation intended to overturn Rust v. Sullivan, but Democrats in Congress doubt they will have the two-thirds majority necessary to override an almost certain veto. The same is true in the bruising fight over a new civil rights act—the one Bush labels a quota bill—that was introduced to overturn a string of Supreme Court rulings that made it harder for minorities and women to sue employers for discrimination

Liberals can take heart in the tendency of some Justices to shift views during their years on the bench. Blackmun moved to the left from his first days on the court. On the whole. O'Connor has drifted toward the center. Souter, who voted the same way as O'Connor in dozens of cases this term. may yet do the same. But the possibility of gradual leftward movement is cold comfort to liberals who realize their two aging champions, Marshall and Blackmun, may eventually be replaced by George Bush appointees. And that would almost certainly turn the conservative bloc into a juggernaut that will dominate the court well into the next century. - Reported by Julie Johnson/ Washington and Andrea Sachs/New York

trict court struck down provisions requiring a 24-hour waiting period, notification of the husband, and a state-sanctioned lecture from a doctor about the pros and cons of abortion. But the Pennsylvania law may not be the ideal test case for Roc. Reason: it focuses on procedural stumbling blocks to abortion rather than decreeing an outright ban, and could thus allow the court to skirt the constitutional issues.

GUAM. Although this 212-sq.-mi. U.S. territory is located in the North Pacific, 6000 miles from California, and has a population of just 120,000, it became the center of controversy last year after emacting what was then the nation is nost restrictive antiabortion measure. It outlaws all abortions except when pregnancy endamers are not to the control of the process of the control of the process of the proces

UTAH. Approved by Governor Norman Bangerter in January, Utah's statute permits abortions only if pregnancy results from rape or incest, if childbearing could cause "grave damage to the pregnant woman's medical health" or if the procedure is intended to prevent the birth of a child with "grave defects." The state has refrained from putting the measure into effect until a federal district court rules on its constitutionality.



Supporters celebrate the nation's strictest law

ESPIONAGE

Con Man or Key to a Mystery?

Ari Ben-Menashe adds fuel to the allegations that William Casey crafted a deal in 1980 to delay the release of the American hostages held by Tehran

By NANCY GIBBS

t is especially hard to solve a mystery if all the people who actually know the truth are either accomplished liars, adamantly mute, or already dead. Such a conundrum is facing investigators who are still trying to unrayel the Iran-contra scandal and other baroque plots that American officials may

past decade. Last week, as yet more charges came to light, there was no shortage of fingerprints, plot twists or stool pigeons. But there was a desperate shortage of certainty, perhaps because when truth is stranger than fiction, the two are harder to

There are a handful of people who could plausibly answer the frightening questions that date back to 1980. Did Reagan campaign officials conspire with Iran to delay the release of the hostages until after the election? For how long did U.S. officials secretly help supply weapons to Iran? Were they also helping the Iragis to illegally acquire missile parts and chemical weapons? If they were willing. Ronald Reagan. George Bush and Iranian President Hashemi Rafsanjani could probably answer; if they were still alive, former CIA Director William Casey. Israeli counterterrorism expert Amiram Nir and Avatullah Ruhollah

Khomeini could. And so can I, claims Ari Ben-Menashe, a former Israeli intelligence officer who clings like kudzu to every new conspiracy theory that sprouts in the thicket of conflicting tales. Since the others aren't talking, even his wild charges get a wide audience. He was among the first to leak the details of secret U.S. arms sales to Iran back in 1986. He is one of the sources behind the stories about a purported "October surprise" hostage deal in the 1980 campaign. And now he has told Senate investigators that between 1986 and 1988 the Reagan Administration was secretly supporting shipments of Iraq, despite pleas and complaints from Israel about the dangers that Baghdad posed to its neighbors.

As charges mount that the Reagan Administration consistently violated both the law and its own stated policies, the Senate Intelligence Committee seems compelled to at least hear out even the most outlandish tales that come its way. The lawmakers

have hatched in the Middle East over the

Onetime Israeli intelligence officer Ben-Menashe tells of covert arms sales to Iraq and 1980 talks with Iran involving ACCUSER: Bush and Gates, now CIA director-designate

must decide whether to recommend confirmation of White House deputy for national security affairs Robert Gates as the new CIA director. Ben-Menashe's claims have provided another wrinkle, since he charges that Gates, while serving on Jimmy Carter's NSC staff and then as Casev's deputy at the CIA,

participated in illegal operations. Over Memorial Day weekend, Ben-Menashe arrived in Washington bearing allegations about Gates that went far beyond his handling of the Iran-contra scandal. Ben-Menashe charges that Gates was present at three 1980 meetings between William Casey, then manager of Reagan's election campaign, and Iranian

arms-including chemical weapons-to | officials in Madrid, at which they allegedly discussed delaying the release of the 52 American hostages in Iran in return for shipments of arms through Israel. Ben-Menashe also claims that Gates attended a final meeting in October in Paris, which included not only Casey but the vicepresidential candidate and former CIA chief, George Bush. President Bush

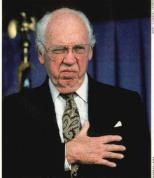
has repeatedly denied being present at that meeting, calling the charges "bald-faced lies."

Ben-Menashe did not stop there. He told Senate investigators that during the Iran-Iraq war, the CIA secretly helped ship weapons to Iraq, including missile parts and chemical arms. At the time, the U.S. was officially embargoing arms sales to Iraq, but privately tilted toward Baghdad out of fear that an Iranian victory could spread Islamic fundamentalism throughout the region. Ben-Menashe now belatedly portrays Gates as a central figure in the secret arms sales and describes meetings in Tel Aviv. Santiago and Kansas City at which the transfers were discussed.

In response to the charges, Gates sent over to the Intelligence Committee a foot-high stack of travel documents and work logs covering the period of August 1980 to the present. which White House officials say prove beyond question that he could not have been at the secret

meetings that Ben-Menashe says he attended. Committee investigators went over to the White House to check secondary and tertiary records. They showed that on many of the dates, Gates was attending government meetings or had other iron-

As for the claim that Bush and Gates were in on the October 1980 meetings in Paris, other sources dispute the charge. Last week ABC's Nightline and the Financial Times of London, acting as an unofficial grand jury, sorted through the evidence about the Madrid and Paris meetings. They found hotel records indicating that Iranian arms dealers Jamshid and Cy-





THE ACCUSED:

Did William Casey, left, barter a delay in the release of American hostages in return for U.S. weapons shipments to Iran? Dead men tell no tales. But Gates, right, has travel records and work logs to prove that Ben-Menashe's story is a fabrication.

rus Hashemi, the alleged go-betweens for Casey and Tehran, were in Madrid when the meetings supposedly occurred. They also reported that neither Casey's family nor Republican campaign officials could document his whereabouts on the dates in question. But Jamshid Hashemi denied that Bush was involved in the Paris session.

Chameleons are doomed to have credibility problems, and Ben-Menashe is no exception. He is an Iranian-born Jew of Iraqi parentage who attended an American school outside Tel Aviv. He smokes Marlboros, listens to Mozart and speaks Farsi. Hebrew, Arabic and English. He went to work for Israeli intelligence in 1974, where his language skills helped him crack the codes of intercepted Arabic and Iranian communications. After Iraq invaded Iran in 1980, he says he became part of an Israeli team to supply Iran with military equipment. By his breathtaking, and implausible, account, \$82 billion worth of arms were shipped over the next few years.

In 1989 he was arrested in California on charges of attempting to snuggle C-130 transport planes to Iran. In his defense he declared that he had acted on behalf of Israeli intelligence—but Israeli officials at first denied even knowing him, and later dismissed him as a lowly translator. Ben-Menashe sat in jail without bond for In months before he was acquitted in a jury

Israeli officials continue to insist that he was never more than a desk jockey and that all his accounts of being a major player in global intelligence are bogus. "All the work he did for us was done in his room while sitting at his word processor," says a colonel in Israeli military intelligence who was Ben-Menashe's last boss.

In August 1983 his boss wanted to send Ben-Menashe to the Israeli military attache's office in Washington to work as a translator. He then appeared before a committee for a routine job-qualification examination. The committee's report was blunt: "It was found that he has serious personality disorders."

ven so, some knowledgeable-and skeptical—experts do not dismiss
Ben-Menashe as a gifted con man. His information, with its richness of detail and its grains of truth, was enough to win the attention of some journalists and investigators who are trying to piece together the truth behind the conspiracy theories. Gary Sick, the former Carter White House official whose lengthy investigations refocused attention on the "October surprise" story in April, admits that he was deeply suspicious of Ben-Menashe's tales at first. But one by one, at least some of Ben-Menashe's stories have turned out to be plausible. Among them: that Casey and the Iranians had met in March or April, as ABC News suggested. Previous accounts had the meetings taking place months later.

Likewise, investigative reporter Seymour Hersh, who is writing a book about Is-

nel's nuclear program. has found some of Bern-Menashe testimony excibile. Bern-Menashe chaims to have operated at one time out of Ayacucho, Peru, where he says his job was to protect supplies of minerals essential to Israel's nuclear program. At one point, Hersh devised his own test of the agent's veracity. He handed Bern-Menashe a list of 10 minerals, asking him to pinpoint the critical ones for nuclear-weapons production. Ben-Menashe checked three, and they were the right ones.

It might be easier to judge Ben-Menashe's credibility if anyone could pinpoint his motives. He portrays himself as a patriot who was angered at Gates for helping Israel's enemies. "I didn't do anything for myself," be told Tisne." I'dd it for Israel." He is also in the process of writing his memoirs, so he may be looking for some limelight. He says he is frightened and bitter at the Israelis for abandoning him.

Ben-Mensale, on balance, appears to be a practiced poseur. But his charges will continue to attract attention as long as questions linger about the Reagan Administration's bizarre dealings with Iran and dealth of the state of

THE WHITE HOUSE

A Bad Case of the Perks

Why does Sununu keep embarrassing his boss? Because he thinks he shouldn't pay for anything.

By MICHAEL DUFFY WASHINGTON

George Bush assumed that John Sununu had learned his lesson. After revelations about the White House chief of staff's misuse of Air Force jets embarrassed the Administration, the President ordered Sununu to obtain a lawyer's Obtofere taking any more government-paid flights. Bush was trying to reinforce and lice it and the had long stood behind senior aides must avoid even the appearance of improper behavior.

If Sunnun hadn't exactly been grounded, he had crainly been sent to his room. But Bush underestimated the depth of Sununu's ethical obtuseness and his zeal at finding a way around the rules. Like a rebellious adolescent, Sununu sneaked down the stairs, grabbed the car keys and slipped out of the White House. After all, the old man had only said, "Don't take the plane." He didn't say anything about the car.

Overcome by a sudden urge two weeks ago to buy rare stamps. Sunum ordered the driver of his government-paid limousine to drive him 225 miles to New York City. He spent the day—and nearly \$5,000—at an auction room at Christie's. Then he dismissed the driver, who motored back to Washington with no passengers. Sununu returned on a private jet owned by Beneficial Corp.

Bush was again forced to choose between two values he holds dear: loyalty to his staff and the pursuit of ethical purity. He tried to split the difference, defending Sunnun's joyide as "appropriate." Bush even backtracked on his own ethical standards for the first time, saying, "You shouldn't be judged by appearance. You

ought to be judged by the fact." This reversal steamed White House aides. Asked what Sunun would have to do to really anger Bush, a bemused White House official cracked, "He'd have to knock over a bank, I guess."

Bush, however, did order Sununu to clear all future corporate flights in
advance with both White
House lawyers and bookkeepers. The President
acted shortly before the
Washington Post printed
a story claiming that Sununu, his wife Nancy and
an aide had personally so-

licited rides on jets owned by companies that do business with Washington. White House counsel C. Boyden Gray had blocked three such requests, but sources told the Post that an aide to Sununu had misinformed Gray about the identity of a fourth benefactor. In a statement on Saturday, Sununu admitted that "some mistakes were made."

Delusions of grandeur are Sununu's biggest problem. He craves the challenge of public life but demands the perks of the corporate suite. His need for the trappings of power is so great that be chose to spend five hours

is so great that he chose to spend hive hours enthroned in the back of a dark-windowed sedan rather than 45 minutes in steerage on the shuttle flight to New York.

Some associates say, however, it wasn't really a love of perks that sent Sununu by ground but fear of getting snickers from fellow passengers. Silly man: the unspoken code of the New York shuttle dictates that no one pays the famous—any attention.

Nor is it money that keeps Sununu from flying commercial. Though to often complained about being underpaid as Governor, he and his wife, who works for the Republican Governors Association, earned combined salaries of more than \$150,000 last year. Moreover, Sununu has access to \$250,000 in leftover New Hampshire campaign funds.

Already this year, he has dipped into the fund to pay for catering, printing and taxes. Now that two more of his eight children have finished college, he finally

ished college, he finally has, an aide remarked, "some discretionary income." What ails Sunnun is a bad case of a strange complex that overcomes people who are enamored of perks: once they become used to expenseaccount living, they don't want to pay for anything, no matter how deep their

pockets.

Sununu's addiction to perks is proved by his insistence that he needs to get out of Washington in

Sleazy rider: Sununu emerging from his limo in 1990

order to talk with what he calls real peo-

ple. As he said in Des Moines last week,

"There are some folks who keep asking

why I have to travel. The fact is that the

Bush Administration really does love to

spend time with folks who make up the

heart and soul of the nation . . . Frankly,

we'd rather listen to you than the self-

styled experts in Washington." However, his definition of real people is curious:

beyond the weekly Republican fund rais-

ers-or the session at Christie's-Sununu

rarely leaves his splendid cocoon.

It is easy to mistake Sununu's value to Bush as merely that of an unshakable link to the G.O.P.'s right wing. In fact, Sununu's real value is the role he plays as the President's enforcer, the "abominable no man," who acts as a lightning rod for the well-liked Commander in Chief. But Sununu's ethical lapses are now backfiring on Bush, causing the President such embarrassment that Sununu's future is in doubt. Some officials who never liked Sununu but balked at criticizing him feel less restrained now that he is under fire. Several of them suggested last week that Sununu does not realize how much damage he is doing to his relationship with his boss. Says one: "Sununu is selfdestructing, but not out of his job, He's just self-destructing out of being influential with Bush."

suspect that he has probably decided to jettison his deputy—but not anytime soon. That would be too humilisting for both men. "He'll dump Sununu," says an official, "when there's a natural transition." But that might not arise until after the 1992 election. —With reporting by Barbara Burke/ New York and Dan Goodgame/Washington

Those who know the President best





At Christie's, Sununu bought this set of 1930 Graf Zeppelins for \$1,100

AMERICAN NOTES



's remains are returned to his grave

PRESIDENTS

Tales from the Crypt The first U.S. President to be

assassinated was Abraham Lincoln-or was it Zachary Taylor? Last week the coroner in Louisville exhumed the body of the 12th President. who died on July 9, 1850, five days after consuming a large amount of iced cherries and milk at a sweltering Independence Day celebration at the Washington Monument. Back then. Taylor's sudden death was attributed to gastroenteritis, But Clara Rising, a Florida writer who is researching a book about Taylor, believes Georgia politicians.

Samples of Taylor's hair, bones and fingernails will be tested for traces of arsenic poisoning. If any are found, they would strengthen Rising's theory that Taylor was killed by proslavery Southerners angered by his support for the admission of California and New Mexico into the Union as free states, Said Dabney Taylor, the President's great-great-great grandson: "Rumors have been running through the family for years. I'm just glad somebody is finally going to do something about it." The prime suspects: Senator Henry Clay of Kentucky, Vice President Millard Fillmore and two unnamed

he may have been murdered.

HEALTH CARE

The Check's Not in the Mail

The idea was to protect the elderly poor from the cost of health insurance by having the government pay the \$29.90 monthly Medicare premium for people over 65 whose annual income is less than \$6,620. But, according to the 1990 agreement between Congress and the Social Security Administration, in order to obtain the benefit, people had to apply for it. Families USA, an advocacy group for senior citizens. charges that 2.2 million people eligible for the program never made applications because the government didn't tell them about it. The monthly premiums continued to be deducted from their Social Security checks, saving the government \$800 million so far this year.

Dr. Gail Wilensky, the Federal Health Care Financing Administrator, claims the agency did not know how to reach eligible seniors. "Saying poor, elderly people are out of luck if they don't know the program exists-because the government isn't going to tell them-is disgraceful," says Representative Henry Waxman of California, principal author of the 1990 provisions, Family USA hopes that seniors will soon get their benefits. If they don't, it will

sue the government.

CONGRESS

Grav **Bows Out**

During six terms as a Congressman from Philadelphia, William H. Grav ascended to the most prominent House leadership post ever held by a black: Democratic whip. In time, Capitol Hill insiders speculated, he could have become Speaker. Last week Gray flabbergasted both rivals and supporters by resigning from Congress to become head of the United Negro College Fund.

Grav stressed that he was leaving to devote more time to his family and the Philadelphia church that he pastors. Since few people in Washington ever voluntarily abandon a powerful position, his hasty departure sparked speculation about his real motives. He declined to comment on rumors that inves-



The majority whip guits politics

tigations of his finances have driven him away, and the Justice Department also refused to comment. The more plausible explanation is financial: leaving Congress will enable Gray to become a member of corporate boards and greatly increase his income.

GREAT ESCAPES Flossed and Found

Officials at the Havs County Jail in San Marcos, Texas, should have been suspicious when inmates bought hundreds

prison commissary. The inmates were not concerned with dental hygiene. They braided the floss into a rope that they fashioned into a ladder with stirrups made of fabric threaded through cardboard salt and pepper shakers. Using hacksaw blades smuggled into the prison of yards of dental floss from the in the soles of bathing slippers, the trio managed to

saw through two of three Plexiglas panels in a window of their dorm cellblock.

After guards spotted the missing panes, the ladder was found under an inmate's mattress. Last week Arthur Harris Stier, 33; Ian James Holbs, 32; and David Gregory Surasky, 37, pleaded guilty to attempted escape. "It was inge-nious," marvels Assistant U.S. Attorney Gerald Carruth, "That dental floss is strong. When it's braided, it's like nylon. If they had made it through the window and up the ladder, only a mesh screen stood between them and escape.'



Inmates' ladder and the broken window

SANTACRUZ FAMILY



José Santacruz Londono Don Chepe,"El Gordo" 47. considered designer of worldwide trafficking networks Arrested for gan possession in New York in 1977, but jumped bail



Luis Santacruz Echeverri, "Lucho"
Half brother of Don Chepe invicted of drug trafficking in Miami 1990, sentenced to 30 years



Edgar Alberto García Montilla ial adviser to Don Chepe, jailed

PACHO HERRERA **ORGANIZATION**

Pacho Herrera Said to be the son of smuggler Benjamin Herrera Zuleta

URDINOLA ROTHER

Ivan Urdinola Graiales in New York City and Los Ang

Fabio Urdinola Grajales

RODRIGUEZ OREJUELA FAMILY



Gilberto Rodríguez Orejuela
"The Chess Player"
52. thought to handle finances for the cartel
Arrested in Spain at U.S. request in 1984.
Arrested to Colombia, thied and acquitted



Miguel Angel Rodríguez Orejuela

47, Gilberto's younger brother CFO of the family's legitimate business empire

E ORJUELA

Cousins of Gilberto Rodríguez



Jaime Orjuela Caballero

Orjuela Caballe





Carlos Orjuela Caballero Arrestad in Los Angeles, 1991,





COVER STORIES

New Kings of Coke

Now that Pablo Escobar is behind bars, the Cali cartel controls the lucrative—and deadly—business of putting cocaine on America's streets. Here is how drug sellers do it—and why it is so hard to stop them.

By ELAINE SHANNON WASHINGTON

o their admirers, they are Horatio Alger heroes, poor boys who worked their way out of the slums and backwaters of the Cauca Valley. Onetime delinquent José Santacruz Londono studied engineering, went into construction and emerged as Don Chepe, a billionaire whose marble citadel looms high above the brothers, who are prominent impresarios of concerts and sporting events in Cali, travel frequently to New York City and have offices in Los Angeles, Ivan Urdinola Grajales and his younger brother Fabio, cattlemen and landowners from the northern Cauca Valley, are said to be exploring a regional television network. Pacho Herrera, believed to be the son of Benjamin Herrera Zuleta, an Afro-Colombian smuggler known as the "Black Pope," is a wealthy

Cali cartel is the most powerful criminal organization in the world. No drug organization rivals them today or perhaps any time in history."

Most people think the narcotics trade belongs to Medellín. It did in the 1980s, when that city's cartel did more than anyone to put cocaine on the street corners of America. But Medellín's drug power has been shattered by its long and vicious war on the Colombian government. A 22-

then launders

the cash.

(cells) managed from the home office in Cali. Each cell. directed and staffed by Caleños, organizes the logistics of importing, storing and distributing cocaine to wholesale buyers,

Dozens of overseas branches

Colombians who buy from

the cartel, take delivery in two-minute meetings with cell operatives, then sell at a markup to middlemen. They cut the cocaine and resell it to street dealers.

op producer of

sugarcane fields of Cali, the country's third largest city

Down the road, in the new-rich suburb of Ciudad Jardin, is the modern compound of Gilberto Rodríguez Orejuela. Nicknamed the "Chess Player" because he runs his business-and life-with cold calculation, he parlayed youthful jobs as a drugstore clerk by day and a kidnapper by night into a vast network of enterprises, including a pharmacy chain, office and apartment buildings, banks, car dealerships, radio stations and Cali's talented América soccer team. His handsome vounger brother Miguel is a fixture on the local social scene and their children, educated in the U.S. or Europe, are often compared to young Rockefellers or Kennedys by Colombians. Then there are Gilberto's cousin Jaime

Raúl Oriuela Caballero and his three

valley rancher with business interests in | New York

They are among the richest families in Colombia, but to the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration, they are the new kings of cocaine, patriarchs of a criminal consortium more disciplined and protected from prosecution than the Sicilian Mafia and now bigger than the Medellin cartel.

The Cali combine produces 70% of the coke reaching the U.S. today, according to the DEA, and 90% of the drug sold in Europe. The Cali godfathers have a virtual lock on the global wholesale market in the most lucrative commodity ever conceived by organized crime. The cartel is the best and brightest of the modern underworld: professional, intelligent, efficient, imaginative and nearly impenetrable. Says Robert Bonner, administrator of the DEA: "The

month counterattack by the authorities has killed drug boss José Gonzalo Rodríguez Gacha, forced the surrender of his fellow cocaine barons, the brothers Jorge, Juan David and Fabio Ochoa, destroyed dozens of labs and airstrips and scattered lesser capos abroad. In the most stunning blow yet to the cartel, Medellin chief Pablo Escobar Gaviria surrendered last week under a plea-bargaining program that promises he will not be extradited to stand trial in the U.S.

After years of murder and mayhem, the government has succeeded in disrupting one center of drug trafficking only to have an even more powerful and insidious gang emerge in Cali. While security forces concentrated on shutting down operations in Medellín, the confederacy of crime families in the Cauca Valley expanded cocaine



nd conce





production and grabbed the lion's share of the market.

Cali has insulated itself from government crackdowns through political influence subtly cultivated over many years. By means of legitimate business ventures, the Cali capos have forged contacts with key people in business, politics, the law and the press. Even police officials speak of los caballeros (gentlemen) of Cali in contrast to los hampones (hoodlums) of Medellín. "Cali gangs will kill you if they have to," says Robert Bryden, head of the DEA in New York. "But they prefer to use a lawyer."

Drug-enforcement agents believe the architects of Cali's takeover are Santacruz, 47, and Gilberto Rodríguez, 52. Santacruz was the hands-on designer of worldwide trafficking networks; Gilberto Rodríguez handled the finances.

In the mid-1970s, while Medellín's cocaine cowboys were monopolizing drug sales in Miami, Santacruz was sewing up Manhattan. Today the DEA estimates that Santacruz, the Orjuela Caballero brothers

and the Pacho Herrera organization import 4 of every 5 grams of cocaine sold on the streets of New York City, From that base, Cali operatives have fanned out across the U.S. and deep into Mexico. The Rodríguez Orejuelas are generally considered partners in Santacruz ventures, but they sometimes appear to operate independently. Their cousins, the Orjuela Caballero brothers, are also major dealers in Los Angeles. DEA agents say the Urdinola brothers work somewhat independently from the rest of the Cali consortium, with their own trafficking and money-laundering organizations across the U.S. They are linked to large lab operations in the northern Cauca Valley and, according to DEA intelligence, are suspected of assassinating a number of Colombians.

The Cali families are now focusing their efforts on cornering the market in Europe and Japan. Last year Dutch officials seized 2,658 kg of coke packed in drums of passion-fruit juice from Cali, the biggest single bust in Europe. Santacruz bank accounts have been found across Western Europe and as far afield as Hungary and Israel, DEA informants report that Cali is looking for sales representatives to man branch offices in Japan, where the going wholesale price for cocaine is as high as \$65,000 per kg. "If the Cali cartel makes an alliance with the yakuza [Japan's organized-crime networkl," warns a Colombian presidential aide, "watch out!

'El Gordo" (the Fat Man), as Santacruz is known, is a legend in the New York Latin underworld. The word making the rounds is that every so often he materializes in the middle of a drug deal and exchanges a few pleasantries with the customer. Then, as suddenly as he appeared, he is gone again.

These tales filter back to the DEA. Possibly, Don Chepe wants it that way. "He's toying with us," says William Mockler Jr., chief of the New York task force investigating the Cali cartel. He and Kenneth Robinson, a retired New York City policeman who is now a DEA intelligence analyst,

Escobar's Life Behind Bars



fter almost a year on the run with a \$400,000 bounty on his head and the largest police dragnet in Colombian history on his tail, Pablo Emilio Escobar Gaviria surrendered quietly to authorities last week. After handing over his pistol to officials on the outskirts of Medellín, he was whisked by helicopter to a special prison in the Andean foothills. There, overlooking his boyhood hometown of Envigado, the man regarded as Colombia's No. 1 drug thug will serve time on as yet unannounced charges.

To the chagrin of many, it was Escobar who arranged his own fate. For several weeks, he negotiated with the government through an intermediary to settle the fine points of his incarceration. He personally selected a jail that boasts virtually impregnable security. The facility has in recent weeks been encircled with an electrified 15-ft.-high chain link fence topped by barbed wire, and outfitted with four 30-ft, observation posts. All of this is not



In Tarpon Springs, Fla., federal agents found the white powder hidden in 700 of the 9,000 cedar boards on a freighter. Customs netted a record 3,270 kg of cocaims



Drugs are often shipped in foodstuffs, from yams to canned oranges. Hollowed out coconuts provided a solid encasement for th shipment seized in Madrid.

have been a step or two behind Santacrus, since 1978, when they found out that he was building an air fleet and setting up businesses along the East Coast. Thanks to their efforts, Santacrus was indicted for frugt-rafficking conspiracy in 1980, but he fled the country, "He is my Professor Moriarty," Mockler says. "He's the one I'll never get." Investigations in New York, Los Angelland of the Moria Coast of the New York, Los Angelland or the New York, Los Angell

Learning and the second of the control of the contr

nancial adviser, Edgar Alberto Garcia Montilla, has been jailed in Luxembourg for money laundering.

Yet these setbacks have not impeded the cartel's steady growth. Call's leaders have carefully compartmentalized their organization, so that individual losses againztiance to bring down the whole enterprise. The Cali management style is cerebral, calculating and guilfeld. In the tradition of the great Mediterranean trading
dynasties, the major families have a partirachal, authoritarian structure that demands absolute discipline and loyalty yet
encourages creativity.

The Cali imagination shines when it comes to the art of smuggling. Medellin brazenly shipped oceanie across borders in fast boats or light planes with extra fuel bladders. Caleños prefer the slow but safe merchant marine. The cartel has devised endless ways to hide contraband in commercial cargo and launder it through third countries. U.S. Customs can check perhaps 3% of the 9 million shipping containers

that enter U.S. ports annually, making the odds very favorable for Cali.

When U.S. agents do uncover a shipment, the cartel adopts new shippers, different routes and more ingenious deceptions. Federal agents took into years to crack a Santacruz-designed lumber scheme. In 1979, a Cali operative was arrested with the name of a Baltimore lumberyard in his pocket. There, agents saw piles of misogary bonds sleed upon the proper sent of the property of the property to the property of the property of the property to the property of the property of the property of lumber imported from South America, contained contraband.

Then in April 1988, a load of Brazilian cedar boards arrived in Tarpon Springs, Fla., aboard the freighter Amazon Sky. DEA alerted Tampa Customs that an informer had reported drugs were aboard. Inspectors drilled holes in stacks of lumber planks, but found nothing. At the last moment, a Customs man saw a crew member.

to keep Escobar in—it is to keep his enemies out. That includes national and secret police, who will not be permitted to enter the 2.5-acre compound. Instead, officials of Envigado—a town virtually owned by Escobar—selected guards, who had to meet the approval of Escobar's lawyers.

The drug king will also be able to attend to his creature comforts. The prison is large enough to accommodate 4d, which is about how many of Escobar's confidants are expected to follow their monarch into entombment, like Gin-dynasty soldiers. Escobar's older brother Roberto was among the first to surrender late the tast week and join him hin his aye Spartan quarters. There is neither heating nor air conditioning, the four large dormitories are equipped with steel double-decker beds, and the recreation room is bure save for a television set. Escobar will undoubter use some of his arror billions to create a more homey environues some of his arror billions to create a more homey environted to the control of the control of the control of the Escobar is no less a jail than the federal "country clubs" that hold America's most celebrated white-collar criminals. The walls are stone and concrete, and steel bars cover every door and window.

solid and contenes, and seed bits boxed every floor han window. Still, Escobar will not be doing hard time, a fact that galls U.S. law-enforcement officials, who believe the Colombian government has best to fair to accommodate Escobar's demands never cised by a mine-month-old presidential deerer that enables exercised by a mine-month-old presidential deerer that enables afficiency of the presidential deeper that enables afficient that the presidential deeper that the presidential deeper

Although the Medellin cartel is experiencing a meltdown, there is obtained bars. "Ironically, coming out of hiding could help him to re-order a business that became difficult to manage on the lam," says a Bogotá-based U.S. narcotics expert. Skeptics say that Escobar could be free in as little as three years. That may be just the rest a titted don needs to resuscitate himself and his cart for the country of t



Vearing gear to otect against eye, skin and lung burns, customs agents in w York remo 5.000 kg of co from 252 drums of dered lve.

drop a plank and glance about nervously. The inspector drilled into the board and hit white powder. The seizure was a record 3,270 kg of cocaine, but just 700 of the 9.000 planks held any drugs.

Other scams are just as difficult to uncover. In 1988 Customs officers found 2.270 kg of cocaine encased in 1,200 blocks of chocolate shipped from Ecuador. The cocaine bricks had been wrapped in lead to thwart X-rays, but the lead set off metal detectors. The next time, Customs found, the smugglers had switched to heavy plastic wrapping.

The cartel has also buried cocaine in toxic chemicals. In 1989 Customs agents and New York policemen found almost 5,000 kg of the drug inside 252 drums of powdered lye. No sane inspector would poke around in lye, which can inflict severe eye, skin and lung burns. Luckily, someone had tipped off the authorities.

The cocaine bricks unearthed from the lve were marked with a destination code, "Baby I." The same marking had been found on an 18,000-kg seizure near Los Angeles two months earlier. Baby I turned out to be a Santacruz protégé in New York, Luis ("Leto") Delio Lopez, 28. His style, according to DEA agents, embodied the typical Cali cartel executive; businesslike, resourceful, hard-working and discreet.

The Cali families are conservative managers, much like other big corporate heads. In the home office sit the chief executive officer and his senior vice presidents for acquisition, production, transportation, sales, finance and enforcement. The logistics of importing, storing and delivering the product to wholesalers are handled by dozens of overseas branches, or cells, overseen by the home office through daily, often hourly, phone calls.

Each cell is directed by a Caleño like Leto Lopez and staffed by relatives and neighbors whose salaries are banked in Cali. Their accounts are debited when they make mistakes. The code of conduct is strict: nondescript clothing, four-door family cars, no drunkenness, no loud parties, Also no failures, no excuses, no second chances. This unforgiving system produces few defections: the penalty for dissent is death, not only for cell members but also for their kinsmen back home in Colombia.

Leto Lopez looked no different from his Westchester County neighbors: he wore conservative suits, lived in a \$775,000 colonial house and drove an Acura Legend. He opened a public fax service to mix his drug messages with thousands of others dispatched by honest customers. He set up an import business and actually imported South American furniture so that the U.S. Customs Service would think he was a legitimate businessman.

fter the highly publicized Baby I bust, Leto stayed away from his house and offices, which DEA agents were watching. One day in March 1990, he happened to drive past a DEA team running another surveillance in Queens. As the agents started tailing him, he whipped his Acura into a fast U-turn and melted into the traffic. The next thing the agents knew, Leto was back in Colombia-where his luck ran out. At the request of the U.S. government, police arrested him

U.S. agents have almost no chance of infiltrating a Cali family. Caleños sell only to people they know, meaning other Colombians. A prospective wholesale buyer must establish his bona fides at an audience with top management in Cali. If he is approved. he is not required to pay cash up front. He will send the cartel payment after he resells the drugs to middlemen. The wholesale buyer must put up collateral, cash or deeds to real property as insurance if he is caught. He must also provide human collateral in the form of his family in Colombia, who will pay with their lives if he ever turns informer.

The system for transferring the drugs is dizzvingly complicated but well-orchestrated. When a load of drugs is shipped to the U.S., the home office faxes to the cell head a list of buyers, the amount of their purchases and their beeper numbers. The cell head signals each customer's beeper to arrange a delivery at a street corner or parking lot. After the customer sells the cocaine down the line, he fixes a second meeting to make payment. The deals take two minutes or less to consummate.

After each meeting, both drivers alert the cell head in code from a mobile phone or beeper. He telephones a desk officer in Cali, then sends confirmation by fax, Detailed ledgers are maintained in both countries. The ledgers have proved the system's main vulnerability, providing a rich lode of data to DEA analysts when seized

If anyone involved in a deal fails to call in, or catches a whiff of the law, the cell is shut down. Last July, in a raid on a Leto Lopez front business in Oueens, agents found a list of Caleños who had rented apartments around Manhattan. By the time agents reached the addresses, everyone was gone, leaving behind cocaine, ledgers, more than \$1.5 million in cash, and two steamer trunks full of arms. "Whenever we get close to these people," says U.S. District Attorney Andrew Maloney, "they're on a plane back to Colombia, and we have to start all over again.

The cartel's need for goods, services and go-betweens has spawned a thriving network of cottage industries. Front companies acquire mobile phones by the dozen and "sublet" them to the cells. The traffickers know investigators need four or five days to get a court-ordered wiretap, so they use a phone for two days and discard it. If a mobile phone is eventually traced, the trail stops at the front company.

GOING TO THE CLEANERS The cartel's second biggest industry is money laundering. The monthly gross for some New York cells, upwards of \$7 million, translates into as much as 3,000 lbs. of bills.



Document specialists obtain clean driver's licenses and car registrations. In 1989 the FB and New York City prosecutors cracked a scheme in which employees of the state Department of Motor Vehicless were taking pribes of \$100 to write phonyn were taking pribes of \$100 to write phonyn documented cartel vehicles, fitted with hidden compartments, moved drugs north from Mexico and returned south with cash.

The cartel's second-biggest industry is money laundering. The monthly gross for some New York cells runs from \$7 million to \$12 million, all in \$5, \$10 and \$20 bills. That translates into 1,000 to 3,000 pounds of bills a month, a logistical nightmare.

In the early years a cell's financier would cart the money to a local bank and wire it to Panama. The cartel had a personal a backer there: First Interameries Bank, owned by Gilberto and Miguel Rodriguez. Orejuela. In 1985 the U.S. government forced Manuel Noriega to close Interamericas and required U.S. banks to report all large cash transactions.

Many cells now ship the money in bulk to Cali, where some is invested, some converted into pesos and some wired back to to banks in the U.S. or Europe under a relative's name. In January 1989 New York agents seized a Santareux Truck loaded with \$19 million as it was departing for Mexico. Last October agents found an additional \$14 million inside heavy cable spools on Long Island, along with records showing shipments of \$100 million more over the previous nine months.

The immunity the Cali cartel enjoys from prosecution is a matter of intense concern to Bush Administration officials. While Henry Orjuela Caballero is in jail in New York State awaiting trial on federal drug-trafficking conspiracy charges, brother craftos is out on bail on similar charges filed against him in Los Angeles. Another brother, Jaime, the family boss, is free in

Colombia. So are Don Chepe Santacruz, the Rodríguez Orejuela brothers and such rising powers as the Urdinola brothers. "You can't destroy the organization without lopping off its head," says Dea's Bonner. "The tentacles grow back. If the Cali cartel is to be attacked successfully, there must be pressure in Colombia."

President César Gaviria Trujillo's adviers nisst the Cali cartle vill be given priority now that Escobar is jailed. Bonner argues that the new gangs will prove a more formidable threat to Colombia's security than the Medlellin cartel 'precisely because they make more discreet use of muder, bribery and intimidation.' Says he: "The Cali organizations can be characterized as murderous thugs who are more politically astute in the way they carry out their business."

olombian national police officials say the Cali capos are not living at home, are not doing business as usual and will be arrested if found. Santacruz has kept out of sight since the government began its antidrug campaign after the assassination of presidential candidate Luis Carlos Galán in August 1989. But others seem to feel safe from prosecution. Gilberto Rodríguez Orejuela is very much at home, defiantly proclaiming his innocence and that of his brother Miguel. Gilberto describes himself as a "captain of industry and banker" and has the portfolio to prove it. He also has reputable friends who are partners, associates or suppliers in his business ventures, which do much to promote development throughout the Cauca valley. Even when police do close in, the Cali

Even when police do close in, the Cali bosses have escaped jail. When Gilberto was arrested in Spain in November 1984, the Colombian government went to great lengths to prevent his extradition to the U.S. According to a Rodríguez friend. MICHAEL MIRRORN-CAMMA LIAMON

Gilberto's son Jaime Fernando appeated to then President Belsario Betaneur for help. Betaneur declined comment. The eler Rodrigues says, "If Betaneur helped in Search and the same says, "If Betaneur helped in Search and says and the same strandition of the same stream of the sam

While the Rodríguez and Santacruc claus seem to enjoy considerable respect in Colombia, they are not universally admired. Some intellectuals protest that if the drug mafis's economic power is acceptci, its values will eventually be countnanced as well. Critics are especially wary of the dynastic ambitions of the high-profile Rodríguez family. "They invest in the turture," says a logosid businessman." They are thinking of the next generation, and the one after that.

Gilberto's son Jaime Fernando graduted from the University of Grenoble with a degree in international commerce. Two other sons studied at Stanford University and the University of Tulsa, and a fourth son is learning systems engineering. Gilberto boasts that one of his daughters has a master's in business administration and that a second is an engineer. "Most are now working in our businesses," he says.

Critics fear the proud father is grooming his children for political office as well.
"Someday their sons will rule part of this country," Predicts Luis Gabriel Cano, who has succeeded his assassinated brother, Guillermo, as publisher of Bogotá's crusading newspaper El Espectador. Unless the Colombian government can now break the hold of the cartel in Cali, Cano's warning may have come too late.

A Day with the Chess Player

In a nine-hour session at a secret location, the alleged patriarch of Colombia's Cali cartel talks for the first time about his battle with Washington and why he thinks drug lord Pablo Escobar wants him killed

By JOHN MOODY CALL

he phone call came at 8 a.m. "Don't eat breakfast," advised Gilberto Rodríguez Orejuela. "I'm planning a big lunch for you so we can get to know each other.

Thus began a nine-hour public relations blitz by the man who allegedly serves as a patriarch of the Cali cartel, Rodríguez consented to see reporter Tom Quinn and me-"the first and only interview I've given in my 52 years"-in order to clarify what he insists are lies about his involvement in cocaine trafficking. Along the way he tried to raise doubts about the motivations of two enemies-Medellín cartel boss Pablo Escobar Gaviria and the U.S. government, which wants him extradited to face numerous counts of drug peddling

We had first asked for an interview with him last year through a source connected to the Cali drug organization. Finally came the invitation. Also a warning from Rodríguez: "I don't want my family's name damaged, My brother Miguel Angel and I are the only members of our family to be linked to this business.

As befits a fugitive from the law, Rodríguez insisted on stringent security arrangements. After Quinn and I arrived in Cali, we waited until noon the next day for a Rodríguez intermediary to pick us up, "I apologize in advance for the inconvenience I have to cause you," Rodríguez said. "But you understand. It's for my safety as well as

Rodríguez's envoy turned out to be a hefty fellow who spoke passable English in a near whisper. After a meandering 30minute tour of Cali to ensure that no one was tailing us, we followed a blue Mazda out of town. Trailed by two of Rodríguez's bodyguards on motorcycles, our motorcade entered the grounds of a house set back from the road and guarded by a white thick-gauge steel sliding door.

As we stepped out of the car, a beautiful young woman welcomed us with a broad smile and handshake. Behind her stood a man about 5 ft. 7 in., wearing a faded pink-striped cotton shirt and dark pants. Gilberto Rodríguez's appearance has changed dramatically since the last pictures of him were taken five years ago. His curly iet-black hair has turned a distinguished salt-and-pepper and covers the tops of his ears. He sports a closely cropped mustache and has gained at least 30 lbs. But the glistening brown eyes were unmistakably those of the "Chess Plaver." his nickname in the drug world. He wore a gold-and-stainless-steel Cartier tankstyle watch, and a hefty gold crucifix dangled around his neck. His hands were small, almost feminine in their softness, and fastidiously manicured

From greeting to goodbye, Rodríguez acted like a charming host. Enthroning himself behind a built-in Formica desk, he said. "My time is yours. Ask anything you want. I won't be offended."

The house was comfortable but hardly posh. A white-coated butler floated silently into and out of the various rooms where we talked throughout the afternoon and evening, offering water, beer, coffee, soda.

As a moonfaced secretary transcribed our formal interview, Rodríguez picked his words carefully. frequently consulting and reciting verbatim from type-

written notes. For the record, he denied that he was a cocaine trafficker and insisted that he was being persecuted by the U.S. "You think one person, one 'baron,' as you Americans call him, can control all the cocaine being sent from Cali?" he said. There are kids out there on the streets, 20 or 25 years old, shipping 10 kilos, becoming millionaires. You think one man can control

Rodríguez contended that he lived in mortal fear of Escobar. "Mr. Escobar is sick, a psycho, a lunatic," he said. "He knows he's lost the war against the state. He lives now only to destroy." Their enmity, Rodríguez said, began in 1987 when he refused to help Escobar kidnap Bogotá mayoral candidate Andrés Pastrana. When Rodríguez declined. Escobar shouted, "Whoever is not with me is against me." Rodríguez blamed

Escobar for the August 1989 assassination of presidential candidate Luis Carlos Galán Sarmiento, which ignited the campaign to push the cocaine princes from Colombia. Rodríguez claimed he had warned Galán that his life was in danger. "Galán wouldn't listen to us," he said. "He was too wrapped up in the historic importance of his campaign.

Rodríguez also took credit for tipping off the police last June, when a truck packed with 800 kg of dynamite was disarmed before it could be parked outside the offices of the daily El Tiempo. He knew about it. Rodríguez said, because his people had intercepted a radio-phone call in which Escobar promised a "big, big sur-

prise" for the newspaper. Rodríguez insisted that Escobar wanted to kill him too. En route to our meeting, he told us, he had changed cars three



times. His family celebrates birthdays on the wrong days, and he dares not spend Christmas with his seven grown children lest the target prove too tempting to Escobar. He divides his time among six or seven houses in Cali and maintains round-the-clock security. "God and good intentions aren't enough to shoo away evil," he said. "You've got to have fire-power too."

Rodríguez remains in hiding from the Colombian police and army, who until recently would have turned him over to the U.S. The closest he has come to that fate was in 1984 when he and Medellín drug lord Jorge Luís Ochoa Vásquez, who has since turned himself in, were captured in Spain. Both Colombia and the U.S. asked for their extradition. In 1986 the Spanish court, known as Audiencia Nacional, sent both men to Colombia to stand trial, stipulating that they should not be placed in double jeopardy by having to face the same charges in the U.S. Rodríguez was acquitted of drug trafficking despite the testimony of witnesses flown in by the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration. Two days after his trial ended, the U.S. filed new charges against him.

Rummaging through a sloppy heap of papers, Rodríguez showed us a letter from Ochoa dated January 1990 proposing to mediate his dispute with Escobar, as well as his own reply three days later politiely declining the offer. When we asked why a

self-proclaimed law-abiding businessman maintains contact with an admitted trafficker like Ochoa, he shrugged and said, "We've been through a lot together."

Rodriguez, who has an interest in Calis' powerful América soccer team, is an avid fan of other sports as well, including baseful. He dislikes American football, he said, "because it is too violent for my states." His other passion, he said, is poetry, quoring from memory the Colombian Rafael Maya, "No one will know the se-cret of this soft saddness." Said as the valley will be a support of the soft saddness of the said will be a support of the soft saddness."

Well after nightfall, Rodriguez escorted to the gate and waved goodbye. The same driver returned us to our hole, talking this time with cheerful animation about his boss: "Gibberto's really good guy, not a nut case like Escobar. And he treats the people who work for him fairly. He's interested in our welfare. There's only one thing he won't tolerate in his organization."

"What's that?" I asked, already sensing

"Drugs," said the driver, and bade us good night.

Q. Tell us about your cocaine empire.
A. Mr. Moody, given the kind of question

you're asking, I gather you have this image of Gilberto Rodríguez, chief of a drug cartel. You'll be disappointed. I am not a narco trafficker, let alone the chief of a drug cartel. Neither am I a megalo-

cartel. Neither am I a megalomaniae. Therefore I am not pleased when people try to portray me as an evil, intelligent, powerful man who has an unlimited fortune.

Q. You're saying you are not and have never been involved in trafficking narcotics.

A. That is exactly what I'm saving. The idea that I am a narco trafficker stemmed from DEA reports from the time I was a partner and president of the board of directors of a Panamanian bank [First Interamericas Bank]. In 1984 the U.S. requested my extradition from Spain. Instead I was extradited to Colombia. where I was tried on the basis of a file submitted by the American government, with evidence it presented, and with witnesses brought from the U.S. to testify against me. I was acquitted first by a judge and then by the superior court of Cali.

Q. How did you manage to get yourself extradited from Spain to Colombia instead of to the U.S.? A. I'll be honest about this. It might be true that the connections I had then with people from the political and economic sectors were useful. But I think what was most helpful was the excessive pressure the U.S. exerted on the Spanish government. Spanish judges are very respectable people who cannot be easily manipulated, let alone forced to do somethine.

Q. So what is the Cali cartel?

A. The Call cut at a resort invention of General Laine Ruis Barron, or a he was called affectionately, Gato ("the Cal") Ruiz. He was commander of the Fourth Brigade from 1986 to 1988, if I'm not wrong. He chased Mr. Escobur and his partners persistently and yet failed in all is attempts. He didn't succeed in gaining immortality with the Medellin cartel. Thus the Cali cartel was invented, and with it the war over the New York market. Of course this faile about the Cali cartel has been helped along by my differences with Mr. Escobar.

Q. Are you saying you are innocent of everything of which you are accused?

A. Exactly. I think the DEA will never forgive me for the fact that so much money was laundered legally through the First Interamericas Bank of Panama in accordance with Panamanian law.

Q. How much money did your bank launder?

A. It's been eight or 10 years since the bank was closed. I haven't got a good enough memory to recall the amount.

Q. You mentioned your well-known differences with Pablo Escobar. Tell us about them.

A. Langks, I Ves, it is true that I have differences with Mr. Escobar. All this started when Mr. Escobar called me and asked me to help him commit violent acts to get the Colombian government to absence the University of the Colombian government to the Colombian the Colombian the State I, think that is absurd. The crimens he has committed in Colombia on the pretest of narco trafficking have been very grave mistakes.

Q. Why is Escobar at war with you, if you're just a law-abiding businessman with no interest in cocaine?

A. Because Mr. Escobar thinks that whoever is not with him is against him.

Q. Why did he think you would be interested in his plan to kidnap people? A. I have no idea. I only know he was

wrong.

Q. Can you walk freely in the streets of Cali?

A. No, I can't. First, because [the Colombian secret police known as] DAS, the army

He divides his time among six or seven houses and maintains round-the-clock security. 44God and good intentions aren't enough to

shoo away evil. You've got to

have firepower too. 77



441 am not pleased

when people try to

portray me as an evil,

intelligent, powerful

man who has an

unlimited fortune.77

and the police have a warrant to arrest me, and I'm sure they'd comply with it the moment they saw me; and second, because if I get caught by the authorities. I'm afraid that Mr. Pablo Escobar would have me killed

Q. Not much is known about your origins

A. I was born between the towns of Mariquita and Honda Tolima. My father was a painter and a draftsman, and my mother was a housewife. We were three brothers and three sisters. When I was 15, I started working as a clerk in a drugstore in Cali. By the time I was 20, I was the manager, and at 25, 10 years after entering the business, I quit in order to start my own drugstore.

Q. And what about your own children?

A. I've got seven children. Six of them are professionals, and one is still a student. They all got their degrees at U.S. or European universities; most are now working in our businesses. Two of them are industrial engineers; another engineer has a degree from the university in Tulsa: [one is] a public accountant; and finally, there's one who's studying systems engineering. Then I've got a daughter with an M.B.A. and another one who's also a systems engineer.

Q. How do they like having their father routinely referred to as a drug lord?

A. It bothers them, but they've been

Q. Some sources say you were part of a gang of young kidnappers

A. This is not logical. I was chairman of the board of directors of a bank in Colombia and president of the board of directors of a bank in Panama. I also had the concession for Chrysler Motors for Colombia. In fact,

with Mr. [Lee] Iacocca. [Chuckles.] Maybe people confused coca with my dealings with Iacocca

I was the founder and president of the Grupo Radial Colombiano, which ran more than 30 radio stations around the country. Can you explain to me how I could get official blessings for these businesses if I had a criminal past?

I got that concession thanks to my dealings

Q. There are two possibilities: one, that you were a smart criminal who never got caught, and two, it is always possible to bribe the authorities.

A. [Smiling.] A man brought up in a family like mine could never be a good criminal. And the Colombian authorities are not as corrupt as you think. You've never seen a mayor in Colombia being acquitted after being caught buying and consuming cocaine like Washington's mayor [Marion Barry] was.

Q. If you respect the Colombian authorities

so much, why haven't you turned yourself in? A. I do respect the Colombian authorities, and I believe in the country's institutions as much as I believe in Colombian justice. And you can be absolutely sure that if Mr. Escobar didn't exist, I would turn myself in. I am not worried about facing justice; I'm worried about my personal security.

Q. Why do you think Americans consume so many drugs, especially cocaine?

A. Because they live in a consumer society where every day means a struggle, where they have to work very hard in order to lead a decent life, and where everyone has to take care of himself without being able to count on anyone else, a friend or the next-door neighbor.

A. Economics has a natural law: Supply is determined by the demand. When cocaine stops being consumed, when there's no demand for it . . . that will be the end of that business

Q. Do you think the Medellin cartel is finished?

A. In my opinion the Medellín cartel is not defeated. On the contrary, it's becoming stronger because it's giving up terrorism and going back into business.

Q. Does that mean that the violence is finished?

A. I think we are going through the most crucial time of the cocaine culture. I also think this phenomenon has to be observed from a global perspective. It is true that the American people have been damaged by cocaine. It is also true that producer and refiner countries are experiencing indiscriminate terrorism, hired killings, kidnappings and government corruption, including in the U.S. What is the difference between exporting a pound of coke from a producer country and exporting an AR-15 and its ammunition from the U.S. to murder innocent people in developing countries? Why are countries such as Germany free to export materials used to refine cocaine? Why do countries like Switzerland, Panama and even the U.S. protect money whose origin is dubious?

Q. What do you think personally about co-

caine use? A. I think it is harmful to youth, as well as

damaging to the U.S. economy to have so much money drained from it.

Q. Have you ever used cocaine?

A. No, I have never been curious about

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Mandela's stature has been trimmed

By SCOTT MACLEOD TOHANNESBURG

hen Nelson Mandels gathers his followers net week for the Nelson Mandels gathers his followers net week for the Nelson Source received the country in a source received the country the nelson source was the Nelson Source stabilished in 1912, is nearer than ever to its goal of replacing aparthed with democracy for all races. Last week the last legal pillin of segregation turnions of the Nelson Source of the

These are not particularly good days, however, for the A.N.C. The meeting in the Natal province capital of Durban is expected to elevate Mandela to the movement's presidency, but his stature has been trimmed by the conviction of his wife Winnie on kidnapping and assault charges two months ago. The challenge for the 2,000 delegates is how to retake the political initiative that the A.N.C. has lost to De Klerk in the past year. Thanks to his democratic advances, Pretoria's international isolation seems ever closer to an end. Even in the U.S., where antiapartheid sentiment is strong, pressure is building to end the fiveyear-old economic boycott.

The A.N.C. was doomed to fall short of the absurdly high hopes inspired by Mandela's release from prison in February 1990. But the organization has genuinely dismayed many South Africans with its increasingly strident demands, its role in township violence, its muddled ideas about nationalizing parts of the economy and its maddening bureaucratic sluggishness. Not long ago, A.N.C. leaders could be heard arguing that the government should simply hand over power. Now it is reasonable to wonder if the organization, even with its large number of sympathizers, could win a democratic election when one is finally held. And if the A.N.C. did come to power. would it be fit to govern?

During the same period, De Klerk has shown impressive skill at outmaneuvering Mandela and maintaining control of the transition process. He enjoys strong supCOUTH APPICA

Who Will Lead This Divided Nation?

Apartheid is nearly gone, but the African National Congress is ill prepared to take over and seems to have lost the political initiative

port from whites and blacks alike. "This is not a regime that is collapsing," says Lawrence Schlemmer, director of Johannesburg's Center for Policy Studies. The government's competency has frustrated the A.N.C. Most galling of all has been the success that De Klerk has had in being wel-comed by black African leaders the congress considers close allies.

(armed Zulus) from the scene of recent bloody attacks.

But not all the A.N.C.'s troubles can be blamed on others. While most members recognize the need for negotiations, some of its leaders are still caught up in dreams of revolution. "The very notion of revolutionary politics excludes any idea of give and take." says John Kane-Berman, execu-



Shooting for power: some A.N.C. supporters are still caught up in dreams of revolution

Some congress officials charge that De Klerk is also actively building up the rival Inkatha Freedom Party, the mainly Zulu organization headed by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Opinion polls indicate that the A.N.C. has the support of more than 60% of blacks, in contrast to 10% for Inkatha. But congress officials fear that De Klerk's ruling National Party will eventually form a coalition with Inkatha to keep the A.N.C. out of any government.

In a press conference arranged by the congress last month, retired Major Nico Basson accused the South African Defense Force of arming Inkatha to stir up tribal hostility. While the army and Inkatha denied the charges, eyewitnesses have seen white policemen escorting Inkatha impis

tive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg, "But that's the game the A.N.C. has been pushed into playing." The desire to remain a liberation movement until white domination ends may be understandable, but in such a delicate period, confrontational tactics discourage the climate for negotiations that the A.N.C. itself is demanding.

The movement has also bungled its relations with Inkatha, which may have as many as I million members. While congress leaders consider the Zulu chief a sellout for serving as chief minister of the Pretoria-created KwaZulu homeland, Mandela indicated that he wished to meet with Buthlezi. He was apparently overruled by hard-liners. Last August, as Buthlezi's followers sought to expand their influence beyond Inkatha's stronghold of Natal, fierce clashes erupted in the black townships around Johannesburg. By the time Mandela finally sat down in an attempt to make peace with Buthelezi last January, more than 1,000 people had been killed—for which both sides bear responsibility.

Only recently has the A.N.C. begun to recognize its sagging popularity. A campaign to increase its membership by 1 million has failed by half. Following Mandela's release, A.N.C. members disparaged smaller rival organizations such as the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organization, Now, seeing the danger of fragmenting the antiapartheid camp, the A.N.C. has sought to bring the others into a "patriotic front." But the congress's performance has scared off those whites who were generally sympathetic. "Many have decided to remain aloof," says Jan van Eck. a Member of Parliament for the liberal Democratic Party, "because they are unsure exactly what the A.N.C. offers.

Divisions are growing within the congress on tactical as well as ideological matters. In general, moderates trust the gov-

ernment's commitment to a process that could result in the A.N.C.'s accession to power, while hard-liners feel De Klerk is perpetrating a sophisticated ruse. Both are struggling to dominate the new 100-member National Executive Committee that is scheduled to be elected next week; it sprimary responsibility will be to chart the movement's course to negotiations.

If the Durban gathering turns into a factional face-off, the hard-liners will probably come out on top. Growing increasingly shrill, the A.Sc. issued demands last April that De Kirk was certain to refuse, such as that De Kirk was certain to refuse, such as that De Kirk was certain to refuse, such as I have a face of the company of the company to the company of the company of the company to the company of the company of the company to the company of the company of the company to the company of the company of the company to the company of the company of the company to the company of the company of the company to the company of the company of the company of the company to the company of the company of the company of the company to the company of the company of the company of the company to the company of the company of the company of the company to the company of the company of the company of the company to the company of t

One test of the A.N.C.'s future direction will come when the committee decides how to answer calls to step up "mass action" campaigns of strikes, boycotts and marches. De Klerk charges that these in-

spire violence and intimidation, poisoning the atmosphere for talks. But A.N.C. hard-inters feet that mass action, like international sanctions, is a vital weapon. "If you look at how the East European countries changed," says Peter Mokaba, leader of the A.N.C. Youth League, "it was mass action that actually pushed the undemocratic regimes out of power."

Fearful of giving way on any of its longstanding demands, the A.N.C. could come to be seen as blocking progress toward a political settlement. Last week De Klerk told Parliament that a multiparty conference could be convened within a matter of months to decide exactly who would negotiate a new political system and how they would go about doing it. The A.N.C. has vowed to boycott any constitutional discussions until the government fulfills an agreement to free all political prisoners and allow exiles to return home. De Klerk has not yet extended a formal invitation to the gathering. When he does, the A.N.C.'s response will help decide not only the fate of the liberation movement but of South Africa as well. -With reporting by Mark

Suzman/Johannesbur



Zulus at a May rally: the A.N.C. fears being squeezed out by a coalition of the white National Party and Inkatha

An End to Sanctions?

ongress had to override Ronald Reagan's veto to impose economic sanctions on South Africa in 1986. George Bush was against them then, and would like to end them as soon as he can. The measures halted new U.S. investment in South Africa, cut air links between the two countries, and barred the import of South African products except for vital materials like sold, Jatinum and diamonds.

The Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 demands five actions from Pretoria before unfettered trade and investment can resume: legalizing all political parties, lifting the state of emergency, freeing political prisoners, eliminating apartheid laws and opening talks on a new government. Bush signaled last week that Pretoria was getting close. "Dramatic progress has been made," he said. "When the five conditions are met, we will lift the sanctions." White House

"Dramatic progress has been made," he said. "When the five conditions are met, we will lift the sanctions." White House officials say four of the requirements have been fulfilled and the fifth—release of all political prisoners—is in sight.

South African President F.W. de Klerk claims he has freed more than J.000 prisoners and only a few remain in jail because of a dispute over the exact definition of a "political" prisoner. The A.N.C. insists that hundreds are still behind bars. Officials in Washington said last week that the Administration will make it sow decision on the question, but will probably withhold its announcement on lifting sanctions until after the A.N.C.'s national conference next week. MIDDLE EAST

The Good Life in Gaza

Luring settlers with cheap housing, Shamir strengthens his grip on the territories and erects a barrier to peace

By JON D. HULL NEVE DEKALIM

ichel Bloch wanted to retire to a quiet Jewish community with cheap housing and excellent security. Five months ago, he found what he was looking for in an enclave amid 750,000 largely destitute and rebellious Palestinians in one of the most densely populated areas in the world; the Gaza Strip, "There is no place else like this," says Bloch, 57, as he tends the spa-

house a growing settler population. But it is really meant to strengthen the Jewish state's claim to the territories prior to any negotiations. If Shamir can stall long enough, he hopes to make Israel's presence in the territories irreversible before peace talks even begin, Says Dedi Zucker, a left-wing Knesset member: "The idea is simply to destroy any chance that Israel will have to give up land for peace."

Since the gulf war ended, three new set-



Michel and Adriana Bloch and their granddaughter are among 3,000 Jewish settlers in 15 Gaza Strip settlements. Of all the occupied areas, East Jerusalem is home to the highest number of Jewish settlers, with 120,000 living in 12 settlements. There are 12,000 in 30 Golan Heights enclaves and 90,000 in 153 West Bank communities.

cious sea-view garden of his \$70,000 twobedroom duplex. "It's a real paradise."

That illusion is shared by 3,000 other Jewish settlers in the posh enclosures who rely on barbed wire, army roadblocks and heavy government subsidies to make a point: they want the Gaza Strip to remain under Israeli control and insist that their Palestinian neighbors living under military occupation learn to love it-or leave it.

Nearly 230,000 Jews are now ensconced in the occupied territories. If Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir gets his way, tens of thousands more will soon follow. As the U.S. struggles to nurse a postwar peace process into life, Shamir has countered by launching what is one of the largest Jewish settlement drives since Israel captured the West Bank. East Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. Ostensibly, the building boom is needed to tlements have been established in the West Bank, each coinciding with one of Secretary of State James Baker's visits to the region. Last week the Peace Now group charged that the government is secretly planning to build nearly 30,000 additional units in the West Bank and Gaza. Housing Minister Ariel Sharon insists that the figure is closer to 13,000 new units over the next two years-which will still increase the Jewish population in the territories about 50%. He has also pledged to double the number of settlers from 12,000 to 24,000 in the Golan Heights, which Israel annexed in 1981, and to expand Jewish neighborhoods in volatile East Jerusalem.

Last month Baker responded to Shamir's latest snub by calling settlements the biggest "obstacle to peace." President Bush followed up by warning that he might withhold \$10 billion in U.S. loan guaran-

tees that Israel wants to help absorb Soviet Jews unless Jerusalem agrees to a settlement freeze. As usual, Shamir was unimpressed by the threats. Speaking at the West Bank settlement of Beit Arieh last week, he dismissed any connection to peace talks and vowed that the construc-

tion drive "cannot be stopped." The Prime Minister's willingness to defy Washington is a well-calculated risk. Since 1968, the U.S. has criticized Israeli settlements while significantly increasing financial aid. Last week the House of Representatives overwhelmingly rejected an amendment to cut \$82.5 million-the amount the State Department estimates Israel spent last year on settlements-from the annual \$3 billion aid package. Shamir expects that Congress will be increasingly reluctant to tangle with Israel as attention

turns to the 1992 elections. The Likud Party leader also has a fallback position. If the U.S. pushes him too hard, the far-right members of his ruling coalition will revolt. "My party is poised to topple the government if it comes to that." says Elvakim Ha'etzni, a member of the extremist Tehiva Party and a West Bank settler. If that happens, the peace process would languish while Israel prepared for new elections, which could well produce an even more hard-line government

The housing surge has been fed by an influx of 258,000 Soviet Jews since 1990. Though only an estimated 4% of the immigrants have moved beyond Israel's pre-1967 borders, their presence has caused a housing shortage throughout the country, inducing thousands more Israelis to head for the territories. "People realize we have the upper hand over the intifadeh," says Doy Keinan, a settler spokesman in the West Bank, "and that there is very little chance of a territorial compromise

Shamir's insistence that Soviet Jews are not being directed to the territories is partly disingenuous. While free to choose where they live, poorer Soviet Jews as well as native Israelis are being lured to the territories by special tax breaks and heavily subsidized mortgages, "We'd like to live somewhere else, but we can't afford to," says Boris Gamov, who emigrated from Moldavia seven months ago with his wife Ulga, and now rents a three-room carayan in a Gaza settlement for \$40 a month. "We simply have no choice.

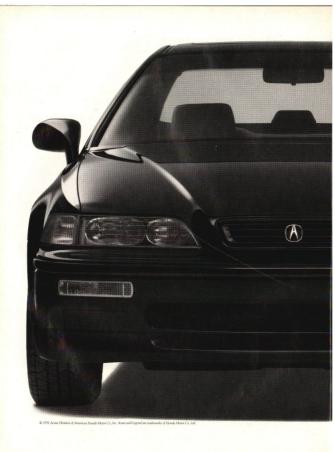
Israeli hawks contend that the settlements actually help the peace process by putting pressure on the Arabs while making Jews feel more secure. Palestinians see the continuing land confiscations and de facto annexation as proof that Israel does not intend to make any compromises. Whether Shamir can keep altering the status quo in Israel's favor without paving any price depends almost entirely on Washington. So far, Shamir appears unconvinced that Bush has to be taken seriously.

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DIPLOMACY

Boris Makes A Comeback

Freshly elected and sober, Yeltsin wows Washington

Yeltsin came as a guest of Congress but was treated like a visiting head of state, with red carpets and a jostling retinue of Secret Service agents. "Last time we both played it wrong," said former presidential adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski. "We should have been nicer. This time we were."

The Russian leader said and did all the



Gifts from Congress for Russia's "big gun"

right things too, plunging into crowds of tourists at the Lincoln Monument to shake hands and hug babies. He pleased lawmakers with his plans to privatize businesses, initiate land and credit reform and estabish a Russo-American bank. He asked for cooperation and investment, not aid: "I did not come here begging," he said." He appended to the properties of the properties of the morracy," decided Senator Bill Bradley, the New Jersey Democrat. George Bush could hardly fault Yellisn for that, or deny the electoral legitimacy that distinguishes him from Gorbache-Ne that while Bush appreciated the "new" Yelisin, promseds him some commits help and seal him some commits help and seal him some commits help and files, he had no intention of undercutting the unelected Sowie leader. Bush said he had been "heartened and encouraged" by Yelism's victory, "but at the same time—I want to be very clear about this—He U.S. will continue to couraged "by Yelism's victory," but a bush of the work of the couraged of the ment of the same than the same time. I want ment of President Großsachev."

Yeltsin emphasized that his relations with Gorbachev were now "businesslike." As long as the Soviet President pursued reform, Yeltsin would side with him. But flashes of the old, direct Boris could not be repressed. On television he admitted, "To a large extent, I don't like him."

Americans liked this Yeltsin, though his thumbs—up optimism, the hint of brash informality that underlay his new seriousness, his climb from underdog to winner. The next test, said Republican Senator Richard Lugar, member of the Foreign Relations Committee, is "how effective an executive he is." That means they'll like him even more if he delivers. — "P\$ Christopher Ogdon Washington

America Abroad

Strobe Talbott

The Quiet Secession Of a Large Country

KIEV, I arrived in the Ukraine from the Baltics thinking I was returning to the Slavic core of the incredible strinking Soviet Union. Estonians, Lithuanians and Latvians might be going their own way, but I'd long assumed that once the epidemic of secessionism had run its course, the Ukrainians would remain citizens of a luge country with its capital in Moscow. Such is the conventional wisdom almost everywhere, certainly in my hometown of Washington.

But that's not the way the future looks from here. From Communists to formerly persecuted members of the nationalist Rukh (Movement) to founders of the new Party of Dencratic Renaissance, from Ukrainian harwinsis to representives of the ethnic Russians, who make up 20% of the oppulation, the people I've met in Kies veem every bif at determined as those in Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius to break with Moscow. If the spaceed, their country would be one of the largest in Europe, However, their rhetoric is quieter and their strategy less confrontational than the Balt's.

A crucial step toward political sovereignty is liberation of the conomy from the all-but-worthless ruble. The Balts have arranged to print their own money in the West, but they have not dared put it into circulation since that might provoke a full-scale crackdown by the Kremlin. Meanwhile, the Ukraine is about to start distributing specially stamped rubles that can

be spent only inside the republic, where goods are cheaper and more plentiful than elsewhere in the U.S.S.R. The Ukrainian ruble will thus be, de facto, a separate currency. In addition, the parliament is moving to privatize property, and the Ukrainian foreign ministry is setting up its own consulates abroad.

Leonid Kravchuk, the chairman of the parliament, leads, a bloor of Communists who have broken with hard-liners in the party to form a coalition with moderates in the democratic opposition. He is negotiating with Moscow for a "renewed union" more like a common market than the federation Mikhail Gorbachev advocates. Kravchuk may quit the party to run in the republic's first presidential election this fall.

Virtually everyone I've talked to here complains that the U.S. has been slow to recognize, and support, what is happening to the U.S.S.R. "We understand that George Bush wants to save Gorbachev," susy Vladimir Grinyov, an ethnic Russian and ex-Communis, who is both Krachuki's deputy and his rival. "But to concentrate on Moscow is harmful to the devolution of power and the spread of themocracy."

The Ukrainians take it as a good sign that Bush received Bort's Yelts in Washington Last week. Bohdan Horyn, a former political prisoner who is now a Rukh member of parliament, welcomes what he sees as the Administration's new "double-track policy" aimed both at Moscow and at the republic. "The West," he says, "must not help the center at the expense of those of us who are trying to leave the empire."

Horyn and others across the political spectrum hope Bush will visit Kiev after the superpower summit in Moscow later this year. Kravchuk is due in the U.S. in the fall to address the United Nations. All the Ukrainians I spoke to, year anticommunists, want him to get his own invitation to the White House. What matters in Kiev is not his party affiliation but his position as the leader of a large and important European nation. That should matter to Bush as well.



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Trevino, "and if I continue



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Bonn Says Ja To Berlin

GERMANY

Everyone knows the jokes about Bonn: it is the Bundesdorf, the federal village, with the same population as a Chicago cemetery and half the animation. For 42 years, pending unification, it has been only the "provisional capital." The treaty that reunited the country last vear named Berlin the capital.

But that did not settle the matter. A heated nationwide argument broke out about actually moving the government and its ministries from the somnolent little town on the Rhine-whose only other maior industry is a candy factoryto the metropolis 375 miles farther east. In last week's deciding debate in the Bundestag, much of the discussion was about symbolism: Westwardfacing Bonn vs. Berlin's periods of imperialism and Nazism. In the end, the issue turned on the promise to former East Germans that the capital would change. Berlin won the close vote, 338 to 320.

The decision still provides for a partial compromise. The Chancellor's office, the Bundestag and key officials in the ministries will go to Berlin, but thousands of bureaucrats are to remain in Bonn. The transfer, which will cost more than \$30 billion, will take 10 to 12

Filling a **Power Vacuum**

Hobbled by internal divisions lack of direction and a leadership vacuum brought on by the May assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, India's Congress Party took the path of least resistance last week: it tapped an uncontroversial party stalwart to serve as the nation's Prime Minister. P.V. Narasimha Rao, 70, who has a heart condition, became the unanimous choice of party legislators after his main rival. Bombay politician Sharad Pawar, 50, withdrew his candidacy for the nation's top post in the name of party unity

Pawar's unexpected capitulation forestalled a looming power struggle, but the Congress Party's problems are far from over. Incomplete returns from the interrupted parliamentary election indicate that while the party will return to power after a 19-month hiatus. its hold on the lower house's 545 seats will fall short of a

Rao's first tasks will be to contain separatist violence and address a thicket of economic problems, including an \$80 billion foreign debt and a 17% inflation rate. After that, Rao will need to restore cohesion to his party's fragmented ranks.



The new Prime Minister



Worth paying for? A U.S. serviceman digs his car out of volcanic ash

THE PHILIPPINES Who's on Base?

For more than a year, U.S. and Filipino negotiators had wrangled over details of an agreement that would allow American forces to remain at the huge military installations of Subic Bay Naval Station and Clark Air Base. A few weeks ago, both teams announced that a new accord, permitting U.S. forces to stav after the old agreement expires on Sept. 16, was "within reach." But then Mount Pinatubo, a volcano that had been dormant for 600 years, erupted

and accomplished what Filipino nationalists had failed to do since independence: force the U.S. military to abandon Clark, which is eight miles east of the cone. Both sides admit the explosions threw negotiations into limbo.

American representatives deny they will use the catastrophe to drive a tougher bargain. But U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney has questioned "the cost of our obligations to the Philippines should we continue to use these facilities.' That could bode ill for Manila which had hoped for hundreds of millions of dollars in assistance in return for renewal of U.S. base rights.

FRANCE The Gaul Of It All

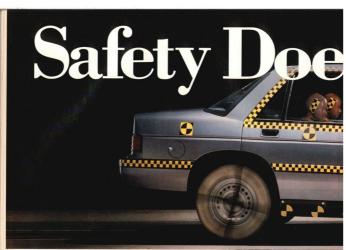
Since taking office last month as France's first female Prime Minister, Edith Cresson has managed to incite fury abroad with her biting bouche. Shortly after her appointment, she declared on television that Japan was an "aggressor" that "lived in a universe different from ours, a universe of domina-tion." The remarks prompted the Japanese Foreign Ministry to lodge a complaint with the French ambassador, and sparked protests outside the French embassy in Tokyo.

Last week Cresson drew fire gain, this time for saying that Frenchmen are more interested in women than are men in the U.S., Germany and Britainwhere, she contended, a quarter of the males are homosex-



Cresson: a biting bouche

ual. When these allegations, made in a 1987 interview for a book about women, were published in Britain's Sunday Observer, Cresson, 57, claimed that it was "not fair play" to pull an old conversation "out of a drawer." Throughout England, stiff upper lips quivered. "They don't call Paris 'Gay Paree' for nothing, you know," retorted the tabloid Sun



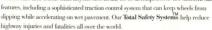
Or Here.

Quality begins with safety. At General Motors, safety doesn't stop with any one improvement—no matter how important. To us, it's a series of Total Safety Systems. Our continuous decication to the technology of safety can help you avoid accidents, help protect you in a crash, and even improve driving skills.



Safer stops on slippery roads—from the world leader in automotive safety.

The best way to avoid injuries is to avoid accidents. And that's precisely what GM's anti-lock brakes can help you do. You have better control, even in panic stops—and even on slick highways. GM provides anti-lock brakes as standard equipment on more cars and trucks than anyone else. In all, we've developed over 100 different safety



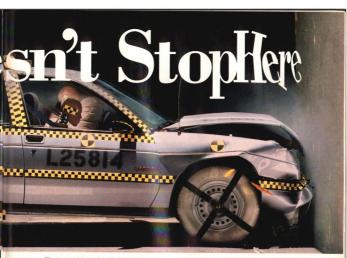


All-around protection for you and your family.

Only GM performs so many tests with so many different physical types—whole families" of dummies, including babies, young children, mom and dad.

Our safety systems—the most extensive in the industry—include everything from safety cages to energy-absorbing steering columns that help protect driver and





passengers. We pioneered the air bag. We have the best-engineered air bag system for various driving situations. When used with your safety belt, it offers you added protection. But it takes more than one thing to help keep you and your family safe. It takes everything.

Or Here.

Buckle up, America!

The more you see, the safer you drive.

Drivers need better vision. And we're working to provide it. From the best headlights in the industry to side window-defoggers to electrochromic rearview mirrors that automatically reduce nighttime glare.

Nobody does more than GM to help protect you and your family.

Many of the most important safety advances have been invented or pioneered by GM.

Which explains why, as a group, our cars have outperformed any other group, European, Asian

or domestic in head-injury results in the Government's 35 MPH crash tests.

As the world leader in automotive safety research and technology, we're committed to protecting you—and your family—better every year. It's

your family—better every year. It's one more way we're putting quality on the road.

Safety isn't one thing. It's everything

PUTTING QUALITY ON THE ROAD FINANCIAL SERVICES

Charge It Your Way

Credit-card users finally get a break, as fierce competition spurs a free-for-all of innovative services and jazzy incentives

By JANICE CASTRO

a-chunk! Ka-chunk! Every day more than 200 million credit cards slide in and out of charge machines across the U.S. Kachunk! Americans used plastic to charge \$480 billion last year, at a rate of about \$1 million a minute. The typical American charge customer carries nine cards and owes more than \$2,000 on them. Despite interest rates averaging close to 19%, many cardholders are blasé about paying hundreds of dollars a year in interest, plus an annual fee for the privilege of doing so.

No wonder the competition for these docile consumers is growing far tougher. Powerful new players are entering the business, and the result is some welcome relief for the consumer. Card issuers are changing the rules as they go, cutting prices, waiving fees and offering an inventive array of new services. "The heat is on in the credit-card industry," says Robert McKinley, publisher of Bankcard Update, an industry newsletter, "Nonbanks are finally putting pressure on the banks to lower their rates."

In just four years, Sears has recruited 38 million customers for its all-purpose Discover credit card. Sears charges no fee, and refunds as much as 1% of all purchases at the end of the year; customers have collected \$100 million in these reimbursements so far. When AT&T introduced its Universal card last year, promising 10% discounts on long-distance calls and no fee for life to anyone who signed up the first year, 10 million consumers called to ask for Ma Bell's special Visas and MasterCards. Last week Ford began offering no-fee Visas and MasterCards carrying the company's blue-and-white oval. Chrysler is preparing to offer its own brand of cards.

The new issuers covet the rich profits that can be reaped from installment credit. Banks that issue general-use credit cards, like the 420 million Visa and MasterCards in circulation worldwide, have been borrowing funds in the U.S. at 9% to 10% interest and loaning those funds out on plastic at as much as 22%. For banks stuck with Third World loans and rancid real estate, that spells salvation. At the 10 largest banks in the business, which hold 48% of all outstanding card debt, credit cards account for 25% of profits, Citibank, the largest issuer, cleared \$610 million in profits on its Visa and MasterCard operations last year, according to Spencer Nilson, editor of The Nilson Report, an industry newsletter. Even though some 6,000 financial institutions issue cards, the business had nearly been impervious to price competition. Consumers who will shop around for value on everything from groceries to autos have been sluggish when it comes to seeking better deals on credit-card costs.

Now they're getting smarter. Loaded down with \$226 billion in high-interest revolving-credit debt, up from \$55 billion in 1980, Americans are beginning to think twice before they pull out the plastic. Easy credit is no longer enough to attract them.

As the competition heats up and the growth of charge volume slows, issuers of credit cards are trying to stand out from the crowd by offering better service. They began years ago with such offerings as travel discounts and so-called affinity cards, which feature the logos of sports teams or donate a portion of every charge to charity. Some banks offer programs similar to Citibank's Citidollars plan, under which cardholders earn discount points that can be applied to goods in a mail-order catalog. Trouble is, the product selection is generally limited and the discounts insignificant," says Bankcard Update's McKinley. "The idea of these enhancements is to create marketing value, not real value. The enhancements attract consumers, but most consumers don't use them.

American Express has been a leader in developing new services that customers never knew they needed. After the company introduced free insurance for rental cars nationwide in 1987, the benefit was copied by MasterCard and Visa, Banks also followed American Express in offering such features as extended-warranty protection on products purchased with their cards and access to hot tickets for cultural events.

American Express follows a strategy that is notably different from its bankcard brethren. Since it issues mostly charge cards (meaning accounts are paid up every month) rather than credit cards, American Express reaps little in profits from interest charges on outstanding balances. The company relies on relatively high annual fees

(\$55 for the Green Card) and vender payments on purchases (3.5% on most restaurant bills, almost twice what Visa and MasterCard charge). With just 37 million cards in circulation, Amex is a niche player compared with mass marketers Visa (257 million) and MasterCard (163 million).

Nestled in that niche, however, is a bigspending consumer. On average, American Express customers charge \$4,266 per card every year, vs. \$1,577 among bankcard holders. Three years ago, protecting its flank, American Express introduced the Optima revolving-credit card for established customers, pegging the interest rate at about 16% to keep its flock from straying to higher-priced cards. "We are not interested in having everyone carry our card," says Kenneth Chenault, president of the company's consumer-credit-card division. "My objective is to go after the most profitable charge customers and keep



can Express constantly raises the competitive stakes. Example: Global Assist, a free, 24-hour worldwide hot line that helps card members with medical and legal emergencies. Michael Nolan, 29, a salesman from New Jersey, was vacationing on Saint Martin last June, when he collapsed from an unidentified illness. Alerted by his family, Global Assist arranged a long-distance diagnosis by U.S. medical specialists and airlifted the comatose Nolan home just in time for a lifessiving liver transposing liver tr

As major companies enter the card business, usually by buying their own banks, they tout fresh features to set them apart. Last month new-player AT&T startled the competition with a plan to intercede with credit bureaus on behalf of its charge customers. Consumers have long complained that the industry disseminates inaccurate and damaging information about them, then is inexcusably slow to correct mistakes. AT&T, which wields considerable clout as a leading buyer of credit reports, persuaded the three major credit bureaus-Equifax, TRW and Trans Union-to set up toll-free numbers for Universal customers and card applicants who want to dispute their records. Says Paul Kahn, president of AT&T's card division: "We've really shaken up some of the very fat, complacent banks in this business.



Ultimately, I think consumers are getting a better deal with our product and with a lot of products that are starting to come out."

Another new type of benefit seeks to help two-income families to save time. Citibank Visa and MasterCards now offer the price-protection feature. If customers buy a product with the card, then find it elsewhere at a cheaper price, Citibank will refund the difference. The customer, though, must provide proof within 60 days that the lower price was advertised in print. Citibank's cards also cover damage and

A popular feature started by bankcard issuers like Citibank is the airline-affiliated card, which gives one frequent-flyer-mile

credit for each dollar charged. Starting next week, American Express will mixe that idea, adding its ow-reckers that idea, adding its ow-reckers in the program to one airline, American Express will allow carbindelers to allocate their miles to any combination of 31 airlines, including United, Delta, Northwest and Continental. One catch cardholders must be considered to the control of the contr

The intensifying competition is squeezing profit margins on cards. Services such as Global Assist, the warranty programs and frequent-flyer benefits are more costly to provide than the old-time discounts were

o boost the volume of business, issuers are trying to persuade American consumers to charge everything from groceries and fast-food to telephone calls and health care. Currently 13.5% of U.S. consumer spending is paid via plastic; most of the rest is dispersed through eash and checks. Says Keith Kendrick, senior vice president of maketing for MasterCard." Though peomaketing for MasterCard." Though peomaketing for MasterCard." Though peomaketing for MasterCard." Though peodanketing for MasterCard." Though peodanketing for MasterCard." Though peoday the card of the card of the card of the card was the card of the was the card of the c

Technology is speeding that transformation. Advanced instant-verification devices are shaving the time it takes to use a card to nearly equal that of a cash transaction. AT&T cardholders can now use Universal in thousands of new pay phones that take only plastic: a practice that helps lock in long-distance business for the firm.

Greater use of charge cards naturally simulates spending, since cash a thand is not an issue. Fast-food customers, for example, spend twice as much on average when they use a credit card. Supermarkets prepart an even bigger increase, Families in go adopt more sensible spending habits in the card companies prove adept in meeting their goals, they may persuade Americans to loosen up on their wal-lets and give new meaning to the term cash-less society. —With reporting by —With reporting by —With reporting by

Gisela Boite/Washington and Jane Van Tassel/ New York



TAYES

Tempest in a Yacht Basin

The luxury tax hurts the economy and isn't worth the trouble to collect, argues an unusual alliance

The levy has been labeled the Robin Hood tax by one economist because it helps transfer money from the rich to the poor. Not everyone sees it that way, however. A rare chorus of blue-chip retailers and blue-collar workers denounces it as a disaster tax. At issue is the six-monthold "luxury tax" that Congress adopted last year as part of a comprehensive deficit-reduction plan. The new 10% excise tax was tacked onto such goods as pleasure boats, private airplanes, jewelry and fur. While the tax bite is not particularly severe-a minuscule \$25 million is expected to be raised in fiscal 1991-the levy has outraged businessmen and workers who produce and sell these items.

The boating industry claims to have been especially hard hit. Dealers point to the new tax as the main reason that sales have tumbled 88%.

to \$8 million, in South Florida during the first quarter. The recession no doubt contributed to the slowdown, but boat sellers complain that shoppers have escaped the tax by buying yachts in the Bahamas. "It's a question now of how long we can hold out until the tax gets repealed," says Werner Kuhnke, a Miami-based Bertram Yacht dealer. Another consequence of the tax, contends the National Marine Manufac-



\$10,000 for furs \$10,000 for jewelry \$30,000 for cars

\$100,000 for boats \$250,000 for airpla

turers Association, has been the lavoffs of thousands of skilled boatbuilders. "In a nutshell, this tax has been devastating, says Carl Herndon, president of Blackfin Yacht in Fort Lauderdale. "The rich are still rich. But the people who are on the un-

employment rolls are blue-collar workers." Since the tax threshold on cars is \$30,000, most of the affected models are foreign, but U.S. dealers are complaining

all the same. "It's killed us." laments Norman Scott, a Mercedes-Benz dealer in Houston, "Those guvs in Washington are crazy." Consumers seeking to avoid the levy are switching to cars whose prices fall just below \$30,000. Mercedes and Lexus sales have plummeted 27% and 10%, respectively, in the first quarter, but

Acura dealers report no major dent in sales.

Some economists argue that the luxury tax acts as a drag on consumer spending just as the economy is struggling to get out of recession. Moreover, the tax may be grossly inefficient. The Congressional Budget Office estimates the tax will generate \$1.5 billion in revenues over five years. But Peter Scott, a former Internal Revenue Service official who now works for the accounting firm Coopers & Lybrand, contends the tax will cost about twice that much just to

Four resolutions have been introduced in Congress seeking to repeal or change the luxury tax, and the Bush Administration said last weekend that it wouldn't object to getting rid of the levy. But Washington insiders say the odds of killing the tax are

still very low, since it was part of a delicately balanced package. If the tax is eliminated, it could unravel a budget compromise that took months to hammer out. Says a staff member on the House Ways and Means Committee: "Once you allow the process to start, you just don't know where it is going to stop." -By Bernard Baumohl. With reporting by S.C. Gwynne/Washington and Laura Myers/Miami

ADVERTISING

The Collapse Of Clio

Snafus and intrigue make a mockery of an industry's most prestigious award

t began badly. On a balmy June Thursday, eminences from the world of advertising arrived at a Manhattan auditorium for the first round of 1991's Clio Awards, the industry's high-profile, hotly pursued "Oscars." But Clio's tuxedoed officials were oddly absent, as were the tickets that some attendees had paid \$125 for Things got worse. The caterer was

pressed into service as an emcee. When no script appeared, print-ad winners were asked to identify themselves as slides of their work appeared on a screen, sometimes backward or out of focus. It got worse still. Upon hearing there was no list of radio-commercial winners. irate ad folk rushed the stage demanding an explanation. Unclaimed Clios were snapped up by anyone who could grab one. Then, four days later, things really got

bad. The banquet honoring TV commercials was canceled outright when the Clio company couldn't come up with the cash.

The blame for the double disaster landed squarely on Bill Evans, owner of the Clio Awards since 1972. Evans' energetic promotion of Clio had solidified its prestige and profitability. The company

raised \$2.5 million a year in revenues, mainly from the \$70 to \$100 fees paid by each of more than 25,000 entrants. But in 1989 Evans began to

reduce his role in the Cliosand, say former employees, increasingly spent money like there was no tomorrow. As this year's ceremony approached, it seemed there might not be one. Bills piled up. Says ex-vice president Nancy Ross: "All the suppliers wanted money up front, We knew there wasn't going to be a show.'

Former employees say they made desperate, unreturned phone calls to Evans. Meanwhile, he rejected several loan offers requiring him to cede control of the company's finances. In early May, claims of drug use among Evans' hangers-on gained credence when police arrested three at his Manhattan town house, charging them with possession of cocaine residue.

Finally, after nearly a month of payless

paydays, the entire 11-member Clio staff quit at the end of May. The bizarre banquet now seems like a wake for a Madison Avenue institution. Don Catterson, a new Clio spokesman, blames the company's collapse on staff intrigues and predicts Clio's return next year. Others are not so sure that the man who made a fortune off the image business will ever recover from an image problem of his own.



Evans: Where was he?

HOLLYWOOD

From Subarus to Celluloid

Scoring big with the summer hit Robin Hood, a former auto distributor becomes Hollywood's hottest new mogul

By MARTHA SMILGIS LOS ANGELES

he son of an auto mechanic and a former car distributor himself, James Robinson is a hands-on guy. So it was natural for him, in his new role as Hollywood's hottest independent producer, to do some fine-tuning on his \$57 million movie Robin Hood: Prince of Thieves when he felt that the editing left something to be desired. "I went in [to the editing room] with the smallest pocketknife," he explains figuratively. "The Sheriff of Nottingham's death scene was so prolonged it was almost comedic. I don't think you need to see a knife twisting 16 times in a guy's gullet. If you've got to kill him, kill him quickly and move on with the story."

Robinson, a centimillionaire based in Baltimore, now spends three days a week in Los Angeles making movies-almost all of them successful. In less than four years his independent film company. Morgan Creek Productions, has produced a sizzling track record of 10 profitable films out of 11 releases. That is a notable feat at a time when several independent filmmakers and two major studios, Orion and MGM, are verging on bankruptcy. Despite mostly negative reviews, Robin Hood took in nearly \$26 million during its first weekend, the eighth best film opening of all time. Industry experts predict that Robin Hood, which is distributed and partly financed by Warner Bros., could approach \$150 million in box-office revenues.

Since Robin Hood will start to break even when its booty reaches \$80 million, the movie is likely to provide ample profits to finance Morgan Creek's eight other movies in various stages of production. Robinson, 56, attributes his success to swift decision making and the fact that his own

money is on the line. He has invested about \$80 million in Morgan Creek and has attracted \$200 million from outside investors, "If studio executives lost 25% of their own money on a film," he says, "they'd make better movies." Robinson spent only 20 hours considering whether to buy the Robin Hood script for \$1.2 million, and even less time deciding whether to hire Kevin Costner to play the lead for \$7.5 million. Deriding some studio executives as dithering bureaucrats, he declares, "I'm never going to have to ask some guy

who makes \$250,000 a year if I can make a film

Robinson's affinity for pictures began at age 8 with an Ansco camera; he went on to become an Army photographer. With a bankroll of \$40,000 from later work as a still photographer, he bought his first business, a bankrupt Baltimore company that removed shipping wax from imported autos. Over the ensuing years, he bought and expanded a Subaru distributorship and dein only \$5 million at the box office. For all his maturity in business, Robin-

son is a kid when it comes to movies. He wants them to have heroes, "People admire honesty, integrity and bravery," he says. "We don't need to step down; we need to step up. I may make a movie I won't take my child to see, but I'll never make a movie that I wouldn't take my mother to see. If I make a movie and Hitler's in it, he's the bad guy, and I promise you he will die in the end.

Robinson is a demon for details, beginning with a movie's script. "A lot of companies start with an imperfect script, which is like drawing a road map while on a trip, he says. Other steps get just as much scrutiny, from choosing a director to arranging a sound track. "You don't know how good



On the set of his biggest gamble yet, Robinson chats with his \$7.5 million man

veloped commercial office space. "In 1987 I looked at the economy and said it's time to be out of the automotive business. I sold my distributorship, lightened up on my real estate and moved to Hollywood. I think entertainment is a good business to be in."

Unlike some passive investors who have got fleeced in Hollywood, Robinson put his own UOR LEAGUE sweat behind his equity and teamed up with veterans like Joe Roth, who has since gone on to head 20th Century Fox Films. Robinson's new company, named after the 1943 Preston Sturges film The Miracle of Morgan's Creek, scored a hit in 1988 with its first effort, Young Guns. The company went on to produce such other moneymakers as

Major League and Pacific

Heights, as well as a dud.

Coupe de Ville, which took

your movie will be, but you can avoid making a bad one," says Robinson. He tries to avoid the movie industry's all-consuming politics. "People don't go to the movies to see pitches and deals, they go to see good films," he says.

Morgan Creek has its lenses focused on more than just movies. The company has already produced MTV videos, toys, Nintendo games and hard- and soft-cover books. A Robin Hood sound-track album is the first offering from Morgan Creek Records, and a planned animated series will initiate a TV division.

Yet Robinson's roots keep him grounded. He spends two days of each workweek at his Baltimore offices, which handle his trucking, port-servicing and real estate interests. Married for 27 years, he talks to his five children daily and says his offspring must gain business experience before coming to Hollywood, But Robinson does harbor at least one more fantasy: to be born again as a cinematographer. Whoever said there were no second acts in American life?





ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT ATHLETIC COMPETITIONS ANYWHERE has no losers. It's called Special Olympics. Every year, some 24,500 athletes with mental retardation compete in the





"BEFORE they even FINISH a race, they've WON MY heart. BETH HENNING

California Special Olympics volunteer

California Special Olympics. These Special Olympians strive for much more than ribbons and medals. They're experiencing independence. They're developing confidence. And they're challenging their own limitations.

Best of all, they're all winners. But ask any of the 30,000 Special Olympics volunteers and they'll say they're big winners, too.

"It's almost impossible to put into words the joy you feel," says Beth Henning. "There's a sense of closeness being with these athletes. I was just swept away with happiness."

Beth volunteered for the first time two years ago. And she was one of the first to sign up again this year. She couldn't help being moved by the joy, pride and love so evident during the Games.

Volunteers serve as coaches, keep times and scores, hand out awards and greet every single competitor at the finish line.

With a handshake, a hug or a high-five.

This is a moment everyone remembers long after the day has ended.

We're proud that Beth works in the Market Research Department of our Lexus division.

She's one of the many Toyota people who give their time and affection to Special Olympics.

And to these athletes, even a little of someone's time and affection can mean the difference between just running a race and breaking through barriers.

INVESTING IN THE INDIVIDUAL

BUSINESS NOTES



Taxol source: a new use for vews

DRUGS Bark for Cancer's Bite

The Pacific Coast's forests are teeming with hidden drugs, including the legal kind. Last week the Agriculture Department decided to allow the pharmaceutical company Bristol-Myers Squibb to cut down

38,000 Pacific yew trees for one such substance. The bark of the vew tree is the sole source for a drug called taxol, a promising treatment for breast and ovarian cancer. Despite concerns over the impact of the vew harvest, most environmental groups support the agreement because it specifies that Bristol-Myers will pay for Forest Service research into conservation and management of the yews.

Criticism has centered instead on the sweetheart nature of the deal. Says Oregon Congressman Ron Wyden: "I don't know of any other instance when the Federal Government has given any one drug company exclusive control over a species." The monopoly extends to marketing as well, since taxol is covered by an orphan-drug law that gives one company the right to sell the product.

DISCRIMINATION

The Price of **Prejudice**

Why would Shell Oil suddenly fire a 19-year employee who rose from \$13,900 research veterinarian to \$115,000 executive? According to Jeffery Collins, for one reason only: he is gay. Last week Judge Jacqueline Taber of California's Superior Court agreed, and ordered Shell to pay \$5.3 million in damages for violating state law and its own contract with "a totally devoted employee.

Collins' trouble began in 1985, when he was director of a Shell subsidiary developing anticancer drugs. Using his office computer, Collins wrote an invitation to a party for gay men, which accidentally came to his superior's attention. Four



ns after a \$5 millio

days later. Collins was fired. Judge Taber determined that Houston-based Shell "created out of whole cloth" a damning job report on Collins to conceal the real reason for the firing: "a homosexual is unacceptable to Shell's management." Shell may appeal.

MARKETING A Real **Brew-Haha**

To boost sales, breweries have been trying to entice certain customers by offering more buzz for the buck. But a new malt liquor served up last week may be packing too much punch for its own good. Marketed by G. Heileman Brewing, the beverage, called PowerMaster, is drawing flak for its high alcohol content and for being targeted at low-income minorities. PowerMas-



High kick

cal malt liquor and 3.5% for regular beer. Urban community leaders claim Power-Master goes too far. Declares the Rev. Calvin Butts.

ter is 5.9% alco-

hol by volume, vs.

4.5% for the typi-

a Harlem pastor: "The breweries are no better than crack dealers who prey on poor people." The Federal Government is raising objections about the word power in the label, which may violate a law prohibiting the marketing of liquor based on its alcoholic strength.



us the artillery, the vehicles are now on sale in the U.S.

TRANSPORTATION Humvee in The Driveway

Looking for a rugged all-terrain vehicle? Then a Humvee might be just the buggy for you. It doesn't come with air conditioning or stereo, but it's been tested in real battlefield conditions. Humvee, which is short for High-Mobility Multipurpose Wheeled Vehicle, is the new U.S. Army jeep. Deployed first in combat in Panama, some 20,000 Humvees were used in

the Persian Gulf war. Starting

last week, the Humvee was be-

by defense contractor LTV, which is trying to diversify its way out of bankruptcy.

The consumer models won't exactly ride like the grunt versions. Seats will be more heavily padded, and the doors will be made of steel rather than fiber glass, for safety's sake. LTV hopes to sell 1,000 of the Humvees this year at a price from \$40,500 to \$44,000, which is about twice as much as a Jeep Cherokee costs but about the same as a Range Rover. The first customer to enlist was the Terminator, Arnold Schwarzenegger. Good thing the manufacturers removed the missile ing offered for sale to the public launcher and cannon.

SCANDAL L'Oréal's **Dark Roots**

The French call it "L'Oréal's greatest moral scandal." A corporate feud has focused attention on the pro-Nazi leanings of the beauty giant's founders. As a result, the U.S. Justice Department is weighing banishment from American soil for Jacques Correze, the honorary head of L'Oréal's U.S. affiliate, Cosmair. The turmoil began after Jean Frydman, a Jewish film mogul, decided to sell his share in Paravision, a L'Oréal-backed movie firm. Unhappy with L'Oréal's offer, he sued, making some provocative charges. He says the company forged his resignation from Paravision in order to placate Arab boycotters, a plot engineered by ex-Nazi collaborators like Correze. Fiercely fighting the claims, L'Oréal does concede that its founder, Eugène Schueller, was an anti-Semitic fascist who hired Correze and other ultra-rightists. But that generation no longer runs L'Oréal. Correze, 80 and ailing, is unlikely to visit the U.S. even if he is never placed on the same watch list that bars Austria's Kurt Waldheim.

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Why Forecasts Are Getting Cloudier

Plans to overhaul the National Weather Service are so far behind schedule that the U.S. could lose its capacity to see—and warn of—the approach of dangerous storms

By PHILIP ELMER-DEWITT

he National Weather Service's new \$3 million radar outpost in Norman, Okla., proved its worth on its first day of operation last March. That evening a series of thunderheads rolled across the southern Oklahoma hill country. One storm cell appeared-at least on conventional radar-to be relatively benign. But not to Nexrad (for Next Generation Radar), a new detection system that is powerful enough to track a swarm of insects moving across a wheatfield 50 km (30 miles) away. The domed instrument peered into the swirling winds and raindrops inside the clouds and saw a tornado aborning. The Weather Service flashed an alert to the surrounding community. Two houses and \$1 million worth of property were destroyed that night by the cyclone, but there were no serious injuries. "You can never prove you've saved a life," says Ron Alberty, director of the Nexrad facility, "But I'm convinced many people's lives have been spared this spring in Oklahoma.

For weather forecasters, the radar station in Norman represents the bright edge of what is technically possible. It is the first of a proposed network of 160 stations that will eventually blanket the U.S. with highpower radar, vastly improving the accuracy of predictions. The network is part of an ambitious \$2.25 billion modernization of the National Weather Service, almost a decade in the making, that also features a flect of advanced satellites, a mosaic of automated weather stations and a high-speed information network linking them all together.

Unfortunately, the Norman outpost has also become a symbol of broken promises, missed deadlines and unfulfilled potential. Two more radar systems, one set for installation near Cape Kennedy in Florida and another outside Washington, are still sitting in packing crates, victims of a bitter contract dispute between the agency and the manufacturer, Unisys. Meanwhile, virtually every other part of the modernization program is either over budget, technically flawed or facing stiff opposition in Washington. The program could cost up to \$1 billion more than originally estimated and is not likely to be completed until 1998, several years later than planned. In the meantime, the agency is forced to rely on outdated equipment that is deteriorating so rapidly it could leave large sections of the U.S. with no radar and satellite coverage at all.

At a Senate hearing last week, government officials admitted that they had "underestimated the complexity" of the worhaul and pleaded for restoration of millions of dollars that Congress might cut from the Weather Service's budget. Congress members have not only balked at the soaring cost of the program, but have also raised pork-barrel concerns about plans to reduce the number of sws offices around the country from 249 to 115—a reduction made possible by the greater power of the new technology. "It's a minor version of the millitary-base closings," says one sws

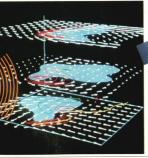
The Weather Service is in drastic need of renovation. The 100-year-old agency has become a technology museum. Its forecasters still launch old-fashioned balloons-70 of them twice a day-to take readings in the atmosphere. They use refrigerator-size computers that have less power than the average desktop machine. And they depend on radar equipment that runs on World War II-type vacuum tubes. This creaking system is dangerously prone to breakdowns. In one notorious instance in the winter of 1988, the radar sentinel in North Carolina was out of service for 10 days, during which a batch of tornadoes tore up the state, injuring 157 people, killing four and wreaking \$77 million worth of

Even when the aged system is working,

RADAR New Doppler radar towers.

like the one below in Oklahoma, can peer into a thunderhead and spot the formation of a tornado with umprecedented accuracy. But a contract dispute between the Weather Service and the manufacturer has put a plan to build 160 such





SATELLITES

The weather satellite that took this picture of thunderstorms rolling across the Eastern seabaord is running out of gas. Its replacement, above, has mechanical problems. If the glitches can't be fixed soon, U.S. forecasters could be left without an eve on the skies



it has a blind spot for what meteorologists call "mesosale" events, measured in minutes and tens of miles: tornadoes, flash floods, squall lines and thunderstorms. Some Weather Service offices do not issue a tornado warring until a human actually sights a twister—by which time it is often too late to get out of harm's way. False call arms of flash floods have become so common that they are usually ignored are usually ignored are usually ignored.

Even under the best of circumstances, weather prediction is an inexact science. Because the upper atmosphere is subject to countless fluctuations, mathematicians say the theoretical limit for a reasonably accurate forecast is less than two weeks. But within this time frame, a number of innovations have enhanced the meteorologist's prophetic powers. Supercomputers build mathematical models that show the interaction of wind, sun, temperature and humidity across the entire globe. And Doppler radar-the technology at the heart of the Norman station—is adept at spotting the destructive midsize squalls that have traditionally taken forecasters by surprise. By bouncing microwaves off the tiny droplets in the center of a cloud and picking up the echoes, Doppler systems can map the relative velocity of wind currents within the cloud. High-velocity winds and a high level of organization can signal the formation of a mesocyclone-a precursor to a full-fledged tornado.

In the mid-1980s the NWS put together a plan to make use of the new technologies. Since then the program has encountered nothing but turbulence. Among the problems:

FLAWED SATELLITES. In 1986 the Weather Service ordered five advanced satellites from NASA to replace three that were either out of commission or peacing

the end of their life cycle. One of the three died of old age two years ago. Another was lost in space. The third is scheduled to run out of fuel in mid-1993. Meanwhile, the new satellites, like so many NASA products, have run into trouble: they are \$500 million over budget and three years late, and they have developed a mysterious flaw that makes their temperature soundings unexpectedly weak. A race is on to correct the problem, but if the old satellite dies before a new one is launched, the U.S. will lose its ability to monitor broad weather patterns across the country, a situation NWS director Elbert ("Joe") Friday calls "a national emergency.

RADAR WARS. When the Weather Service put out bids for the Nexard system in 1988, the choice came down to Sperry (now Unisys) and Raytheon. Sperry, which promised to build 121 machines for \$386 million, was the low bidder. But two years into the job, the company insisted that it needed an additional \$250 million to complete it. The government refused to pay, and the company refused to make any more radars. Now, with the Weather Service logging a record year for tomades (1,023 so far this year), on the work of the company of the service of th

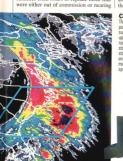
COMPUTER MORASS. The Weather Service finally replaced its main number-crunching supercomputer—a clunky Control Data machine—with a slick new Cray Y-MP last year, and has been upgrading the software for its radar and satellite stations. To speed the dissemination of data and forecasts between its central office in Camp Springs, Md, and weather stations around the country, it is building AWIRS.

cessing System. However, AWIPS is already a year late. Meanwhile, a report by the National Research Council in May cast doubt on the ability of the NWS's small staff to

manage its other complex new programs. How did the Weather Service get into such a mess? Part of the problem is bureaucratic: the NWS falls under the sway of the Commerce Department, which has never shown much understanding of or interest in the science or technology of weather prediction. Pinched by tight budgets and layoffs over the past decade, the agency was very nearly shut down under the Reagan Administration, which in its zeal to privatize government operations briefly proposed selling off the Weather Service's satellite network to the highest bidder. Public outcry forced the White House to scrap its plans,

What the budget cutters forgot is that the Weather Service is one of the few government operations that give every American a tangible benefit for his tax dollar. Not only do picnicgoers count on the predictions to save them from a sprinkling, but thousands of businesses depend on the Nws for their very survival-from airlines plotting the most efficient flight path to utilities trying to meet peak-load demands. Farmers, fishermen, oil drillers, construction companies, snowmakers, moviemakers, grain speculators and baseball umpires all have an urgent interest in accurate weather predictions. With hats in hand, Nws officials tried to impress this upon the Senators last week. And while further technical delays seem inevitable, the betting is that funds for modernization will be found. Or, as the Weather Service might put it: the outlook is overcast, with skies slowly clearing. -Reported by David Bierklie/

New York, Wayne Greene/Norman and Dick Thompson/Washington



COMPUTERS
The Weather Service has purchased a new Cray supercomputer, below, and upgraded the programs that run its satellite and radar stations. But delays and staff cuts have cast doubt on the agency's ability to manage these sophisticated systems.





At Last, the Smoking Gun?

If a comet did in the dinosaurs, where is the giant crater left by its impact? The answer may lie on the coast of the Yucatán Peninsula.

By LEON JAROFF

urting through the atmosphere at nearly 70 km per sec. (150,000 mg.) bit, per sec. (15

These finer particles remained suspended, dritting into a globe-enveloping shroud that blocked sunlight for months before blanketing the earth in a layer of dust. In the cold and dark, photosynthesis ceased, plants and animals died, and entire species, including the dinosaurs, perished.

This startling scenario, proposed in

rez and his son Walter, ignited a scientific debate that still rages today. Opponents of the theory, notably paleontologists, blame the Great Extinction on climatic changes possibly brought on by volcanic activity. If the Alvarezes were correct, they ask, where is the smoking gun? Where is the crater?

Science

Some 130 terrestrial impact craters had been identified, but none of them near the age of 65 million years was large enough to qualify as the Crater. Yet if a comet or asteroid massive enough to cause the extinction had struck the earth, it would have left a crater hundreds of kilometers wide. Some traces would still exist, despite the intervening millenniums of erosion, sedi-

mentation and tectonic-plate movement. Now, after a decade-long search, the attention of geologists is riveted on a circular basin some 180 km (112 miles) in diameter. It lies buried under 1,100 m (3,600 ft.) of limestone, centered beneath the town of Chiexulub, on the northern tip of Mexico's



der the Gulf of Mexico. The nature of the basin, its location and a preliminary estimate of its age suggest that it is the Crater, the one gouged into the earth by the comet or asteroid that killed the dinosaurs. In the search for the Crater, the first

clues were sifted out of clumps of gray clay. At dozens of sites around the world, that clay has been found in a thin boundary layer between the rock of the Tertiary period and the formations of the late Cretaccous period, which ended 65 million years ago. In the Cretaccous rock he a profusion of other species. But in the Tertiary formations, just above the clay, no trace exists of the dimosaurs or



many of the other Cretacous species. The Alvarezes analyzed this day in the late 1970s and showed it had a far higher content of the rare element iridium than ordinarily found in the earth's crust. It was his discovery that led Luis Alvarez Le was his momentous insight. Comets and asteroids have high iridium content, he reasoned, and the day layer could have been formed by the worldwide fallout of the material vaporized when an errant asteroid or, as most scientists now suspect, a glant comet

smacked into the earth.
As the quest for the telltale crater intensified in the middle 1980s, William
Bomion, a professor of planetary science,
Bomion, a professor of planetary science,
both of the University of Arziona, wondered if the boundary day might also helpreveal the site of the impact. Measuring the
content of rare earth elements in samples
of the clay, they determined that it continued both the basilit rords found in the
ocean floor and a lesser amount of contitantal basility of the continued to the continued to the
half into the deep of an ocean basin.

go great an impact in water must have produced monstrous sessions waves, perhaps as great as 5 km (3 miles), high, that raced across the waters, tearing up the bottom sediments and sweeping roxly debris indand. Searching through scientific literature, they uncovered reports of chaotic mixes of large roxls at the 65-mil-lion-year boundary jeed in Feas, Mexico, Coba and northern South America, but debrand, "that the comet hit somewhere between North and South America,"

Scientists also reasoned that the thickeal bayers of eject—most hat fell back to earth after the impact—mould be found closer to the Crater. Investigating one suspected ejecta layer in Haiti early in 1990. Hildebrand and another Azizona colleague. David Kring, found tektites, teardrop-shape pieces of glass formed when molten rock is splashed high into the atmosphere and solidities on its way back down. Special control of the control of the control gested that the impact had occurred in more than 1,000 km (622 miles) ways.

A few months later, Hildebrand learned of a report made a dozen years earlier by Glen Penfield, a geophysicist who had surveyed the Yucatian Peninsula for Pemes, the Mexican national oil company, Studying both magnetic and gravity measurements, Penfield and his Pemes susceptible of the peninsula and suspected it might be an impact crater. Their report was largely ignored.

Seeking out Penfield, Hildebrand teamed up with him in a search for samples of material brought up in old oil-drilling operations in the vicinity of the basin. Analyzing a few core samples, Kring discovered compelling evidence that the basin is an impact crater. Most convincing are crystals of quartz with striations that could only have been caused by powerful shock waves stemming from a great impact, as opposed to, say, from volcanic action. Finally, the dating of nearby fossil evidence has narrowed the crater's age to within 5 million years of the Great Extinction.

Unexpected confirmation of the crater site has come from a team of scientists led by Charles Duller at NASA'S Ames Research Center. While examining satellite photographs of the Yucatán in the mid-1980s, the NASA scientists were intrigued by a strange semicircle of sinkhole lakes on the northern tip of the peninsula. The Chicxulob discovery could provide an explanation. Reporting in Nature magazine, the NASA Ceam proposes that the lake patches with the NASA Ceam proposes that the NASA Ceam proposes the NASA Ceam proposes that the NASA Ceam proposes that the NASA Ceam proposes that the NASA Ceam proposes the NASA Ceam proposes

As the evidence mounts, more researchers are convinced that the Chicaulub crater marks the impact point of the killer comet. Says Boynton: "This is nearly as close to a certainty as one can get in scineu." Some scientists disagree. David Archibald, a biologist at San Diego State University, believes the extinctions took place more gradually and in a complex pattern. Came extinct virtually overniesh: This week, at an astronomy conference in Fagastaff, Affiz, scientists will add an intriguing twist to the Alvarez scenario. Their interpretation is based on new evidence that the Cretaceous-clay boundary actually consists of two parts: a thin layer overlying a more substantial one. To Eugene Shoemaker, of the U.S. Geological Survey and a co-author of the report, two layers indicate not one but two impacts.

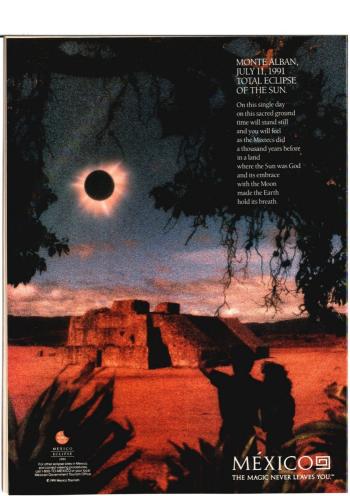
As Shoemaker and his colleagues see it, a giant comet broke apart as it whipped around the sun. Over time, chunks of the comet separated but remained strung out in the same orbit. Then 65 million years ago, as the earth passed through the comet's orbit, it collided with the largest chunk, causing the Great Extinction. Perhaps only a year or two later, as the earth again entered the trail of cometary debris, it met a second. smaller chunk. Where did the second impact occur? This time no search is necessary. Shoemaker points to a well-known crater, 35 km (22 miles) across, that lies partly buried near Manson, Iowa. Its age, established by radioactive dating: 65 million years. Shoemaker believes the new findings will help persuade more scientists to "get off the fence" and side with the Alvarez theory. "Chicxulub is the smoking cannon," he says, "and Manson is the smoking pistol."



Saving the Planet

What are the chances that much of life could once again be sunfied out by a collision with an ice comet? Rather small, but there are plenty of a steriod in the heavens capable of causing devastation. Astronomers have identified more than 130 asteroids whose pasts could intersect earths orbit. Consisting largely of rock or iron, some are over a mile wide and could ram the earth at 65,000 km (40,000 miles) per But whenever it does happen, the cauchiest could obtain the part of the country of the could be above. The country of t

Until the space age, earthlings had no defense against such a threat. But now astronomers can determine years in advance if an asteriol will litt the earth. In theory, a nuclear missile could then be launched to rendezvous with the intruder, explode nearby and mudge it into a safe path. Nack, which spensk under Si million a year watching for collisions, will be a sponsor of the first International Conference on Near-Earth Asteroids near week in San Juan Capistrano, Calif., and is planning a seminar this year Asteroids near week in San Juan Capistrano, Calif., and is planning a seminar this year (820 ft.) asteroid was discovered only after it had missed the earth by an astronomical evelas—less than 845,400 km (20000 miles).



People

By SOPHFRONIA SCOTT/Reported by Wendy Cole



Backing Out

The athletic antics of bonny Prince Charles seem to be catching up with him. He's



been suffering acute back pain for the past five weeks. though playing polo the entire time, but last week it became so intense he was forced to cancel all his public duties for the rest of the month. The pain, caused by a degenerative disk, now has the prince so disabled he can barely get out of a chair, "If he does not rest his back now, he could well end up needing surgery," says orthopedic surgeon John Webb of Queen's Medical Center. His condition is attributed to a lifetime of sports-skiing, windsurfing and parachuting, as well as polo. Charles will recuperate at his home at Highgrove in Gloucestershire, and has been prescribed anti-inflammatory drugs.

Star Trip

The android moonlights as a singer. While his popular character. Data, on Star Trek: The Next Generation studies the behavior of humankind, Brent Spiner likes to delve into music. He's completed his first album, Ol' Yellow Eyes Is Back, featuring his favorite classic tunes. including Embraceable You and More Than You Know. But would Ol' Blue Eves take issue with the album's title? Spiner, 40, says he's not worried a bit, "If I was sued by Frank Sinatra.



a privilege," he quipped. d that Star Trek

"I understand that Star Trek is one of two shows he watches." Far out.

New Threats

Just when he thought it was safe to venture cautiously into the public eye, Salman

Rushdie has had to burrow under-ground once more. The marked author of The Satanic Verses, which caused the late Ayatullah Khomeini of Iran to issue a fainwa, or death sentence, on him in 1989, had been trying to emerge from



hiding, making unannounced book-signing appearances and even granting several interviews. But last week brought word that a hit

squad has been gearing up an assassination plan and that the reward for killing Rushdie has been doubled to \$2 million. The death threat could well complicate efforts to improve the shaky diplomatic ties between London and Tehran.

Like Son, Like Father

What would Freud say about a son acting the role of his own dad? DESI ARNAZ IR., center, assumes the tank, portraying his late father in the fall film THE MAMBO KINGS. Arnaz was coaxed into the part when 100 other Desi hopefuls didn't cutit. The film has Arnaz befriending fledgling mambo kings ARMAND ASSANTE and ANTONIO BAN-DERAS. "Playing my own father was a cathartic experience," says Arnaz, 38." not



only was able to capture certain positive feelings I never knew were there between us, but I was also able to let go of certain negative feelings that have been buried deep within me all these years."

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Ethics

Tying the Boy Scouts In Knots

Atheists, girls and gays are suing to join, testing the group's claim to be a private body in which discrimination is allowed

By WILLIAM A. HENRY III

Most Americans believe that the Boy Scoust stand for the best in national values, an image the group achieved in part by shrewdly staying out of the ever heated debate over what hose values are Fors I) years, while the organization inducted 83 million youths, the bopular image of a south has been benign and nonpartisant a polite teenager helping and only and only and the stay of the stay

But a new image is emerging. In Illinois, California and Florida, children are flighting exclusion from the Boy Scouts based on their being atheist, agnostic or female. An assistant scoutmaster in California is hattling an expulsion imposed because he is gay. And Boy Scout officials are to assert that the scouts are free to discriminate because they were always a private clubr ather than a public resource.

Already the contrictemps are causing some groups to rethink their relationship with souting. In Himsdale, III., where Mark Welsh, 8, was barred from Cub Scouts because he is an agnostic, the local cistohol system has temporarily halted the distribution of recruitment Byers. In Minister Margo Mankes, 8, was expelled and the second system of the system of the second system of the second system of the system

Numerically the organization is in little immediate danger, After a dip in the "18s, membership surged during the Reugan ear. Today 43 million young people belong to Cub Scouts and its procursor Tigers (for boys 6 to 10). Boy Scouts (boys 11 to 17) and Explorers (both sexes, 14 to 20). The two younger groups must swear loyal-ty to God and country, Explorers take no eath, and thus the 1.2 million-member



Young nonbelievers: Michael and William Randall of Anaheim Hills, Calif.

branch has largely kept clear of courtroom battles but has weakened scouting's claim that religious faith is central to its mission.

An even clearer affirmation of the group's appeal is that its court adversaries want to join in, not shut it down. Mark Wesh persisted in suing despite his father Elliott's cautions because, he says, "there's things I want to do in Cut's Socust—build bonfires, go camping, pool parties." His 15-month-old case went to trial last week, and Mark gained apsychie merit badge in media. Mark gained apsychie merit badge in media mostly learned about news camera.

Michael and William Randall, twin nine-year-olds from Anaheim Hills, Calif...



Fighting back: Tim Curran of Hollywood, who was expelled for being gay

have been just as stubborn. They were excluded from a Cub Scout pack in February because they could not, as atheists, pfedge processes that the processes of the following the father James, but he emphasizes that the legal battle was the wins idea not his. He calls the lawsuit "the kiss of death." Says his son Michael: "I just want to be a member of an organization and not have to say the word God and not have an organization force me to say it. They're not a private organization. They're public, and if they're public, they can't exclude people who don't believe in God."

The key legal question is how private the secutus are. When Margo Manke's attorney alleged the scouts had violated state and local laws against see discrimination. Boy Scouts of America attorney George Davidson countered, "Congress has authorized the B.S.A. to maintain a program for boys." It's not open to a state or local government to change their policies." But the congressional charter undercruts secunifys additional claims to be private, so, in discussing instances of the private for the congressional charter undercruts secunifies a fair and the private for the congress of the congressional charter under the congression of the

The boundary between private association and the public right to free access has been one of the hardest to draw. Lawyers targeting the scouts rely in part on publicaccommodation statutes, which were originally used to regulate restaurants, hotels and the like. In recent years the laws have been applied to groups such as the Javeces, which women argued—successfully—was not a private club but a careerenhancement group.

Mankes' attorney makes similar arguments. "The scouts are training boys to be successful." Mark Rubin declares. "The Girl Scouts' purpose is to make women better homemakers. There is no alternative as good as the Boy Scouts."

Timothy Curran, 29, already had his chance for happy memories of scouting. Now a videotape editor for a local TV news program in Los Angeles, Curran joined a Berkeley troop in 1975 and quickly progressed to Eagle Scout and assistant scoutmaster. In 1981 he was expelled because officials had seen a newspaper photograph of him taking a male date to his high school senior prom. Curran was a student at UCLA when he was banned. He sued immediately; a decade later, the case is still unresolved. While an antigay posture might seem predictable for scouting, Curran argues that the organization's literature is silent on the issue and that the manual for scoutmasters specifically prohibits discussion of sexual matters.

n all these controversies the motives of the Boy Scouts, and in some cases their challengers, involve more than the legal niceties. Curran, for example, is by any reasonable definition a gay activist. For their part, the scouts are tending to business interests. In the majority of scout troops, for example, the religious component is negligible and almost any professed faith is welcome, from Methodism to Zen. But about 30% of scouts are sponsored by church groups, and those partners would probably take a dim view if scouting suddenly made belief in God optional. On the issue of female membership, many young boys might balk at enrollment if scouting lost its exclusionary mystique, and the Girl Scouts would surely not welcome the competition.

When it comes to gay participation, the overt concern is about role models, while the unspoken correlative is fear of child molestation. In practice, an acknowledged homosexual is an unlikely molester, if only because parents would be watchful, while married, middle-aged scoutmasters have been known to transgress.

The silliest pretense is that the Boy Scouts do not now number many present or future atheists and homosexuals among their members. Curran was gay and a scout. Elliott Welsh evolved agnostic views shortly after leaving the scouts. Their participation in scouting did not keep them from choosing their lives and values, nor did their participation destroy scouting. What is most troubling in the Boy Scouts' new emphasis on privacy is the hint that the group serves as a retreat for parents who dislike the diverse and tolerant world of today. But that is the world their children will grow up to live in tomorrow. -Reported by Steve Hawk/Los Alamitos and Leslie Whitaker/ New York



A different drummer: members of the élite college on parade before a barracks

The Thin Gray Gender Line

V.M.I. gets state funds, and it bars women. Fine, says a federal judge, because that permits "bonding."

The all-male Virginia Military Institute was faring better than the beleaguered Boy Scouts last week. A federal judge ruled that the effite college, which has maintained a single-sex admissions policy since its founding in 1819, could continue to discriminate. "V.M.I. truly marches to the beat of a different drummer," concluded Judge Jackson L. Kiser, "and I will permit it to continue to do so."

The Justice Department brought suit against VM.I. 16 months ago, claiming that exclusion of women from the state school was unconstitutional under the 14th Amendment's equal-protection clause. See Kiesr, who got his law degree from Washington and Lee University 33 years before it became coed, found that as a single-sex school V.M.I. adds important diversity to Viginia's education system that would be vorys. The Justice Department has two months to appear.

This decision goes against a 1982 Suppreme Court ruling that forbids gender discirrimation in schools receiving federal or state funds. In that case, the Justices said, a tues-supported female mursing school in Misand the supported female mursing school in Misangle-sex policy was not necessary to achieve an important educational goal. Cronic the Mississippi case, Judge Kirch in the Mississippi case, Judge Kirch of it women were admitted. His ruling, of it women were admitted. His ruling, for the National Women's Law Center, turns the 1982 precedent "upside down." W.M.I., which receives \$9 million annuals of million that state—a third of its budget—is an old-fashioned military school, but only about 15% of its graduates enter the armed forces. The majority move smoothly into the Old Dominion's most powerful subsiness and political ranks. Barring women from the school effectively curtails their access to that old-byo network.

In his 21-page opinion, Judge Kiser took note of the school's traditions. V.M.1.5 freshman-class members—the "rasts" as they are called—er heaved unmercifully, forced to live under Spartan conditions and confronted with demeaning physical demands. Kiser observed that the "rat line" creates a "bonding to their fellow sufferers and former tormentors." An changes made in the rat line to accommodate women, he said, would thwart the college's mission.

If V.M.I. were a private institution, it would be as free to keep out women as it is to require every cadet to snap a morning salute in front of a bronze statue of Confederate General Stonewall Jackson, who taught there from 1851 to 1861, "We're not talking about whether there is a role for single-sex education," says Vargyas. "The real question is, Can the brother rats have male bonding with tax money from the state of Virginia?" In the wake of Operation Desert Storm, in which women died alongside men for their country, Judge Kiser's ruling seems rather jarring-especially since female taxpayers help pay for V.M.I.'s different Ry Emily Mitchell. drummer. Reported by Julie Johnson/Washington

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Press

Justice Comes in Quotes Journalists can tinker with the words of interview

subjects-but reckless falsity can be libelous

M any journalists hoped the case would simply go away; the prospect of juries setting limits on the work practices of reporters was a newsroom nightmare. But last week the Supreme Court decided otherwise. It unanimously overturned the decision of a federal court and ruled that the discomforting case of journalist Janet Mal-

colm, accused of libeling her subject by fabricating his quotes, should go to trial. Nevertheless, the reaction from most reporters. though hardly unanimous, tended toward a collective sigh of relief that the decision showed a subtle sensitivity to their craft.

The lack of outrage among those likely to be most affected stems in part from the tan-

gled nature of the incident that prompted the trouble. In December 1983 the New Yorker ran a two-part profile by Malcolm of Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson, a psychoanalyst who had lost his job as projects director of the Sigmund Freud Archives in New York City. Published the next year by Knopf as In the Freud Archives, Malcolm's report apparently allowed Masson to destroy himself with his own words; his selfdescription as "an intellectual gigolo," his plan to transform Anna Freud's house, after her death, into "a place of sex, women,

fun," and his boast that he would be recognized as "after Freud, the greatest analyst who's ever lived '

Masson sued for libel, claiming that he had never said any of these things and that other quotations had been distorted to make him look ridiculous. A long legal wrangle ensued, during which Malcolm, in

66 Whether the passage is defamatory is a law, and to the extent that

a pretrial deposition, conceded that she had combined a number of Masson's comments over a period of months to suggest that they had all occurred during a single lunch at a restaurant in Berkeley. Her 40 or so hours of tapes and her notes of interviews with Masson do not contain the three quotations he claimed were fabricated. Still, her legal defense maintained that even if these statements were manufactured-which Malcolm has steadily denied-they were true to the nature of her subject and thus entitled to First Amendment protection. In 1989 a federal appeals court in California agreed.

Not everyone in the press, including Malcolm supporters, was happy with a decision that seemed to condone outright inventions-between quotation marks-in works of nonfiction. But the possibility threatened by Masson's appeal to the Supreme Court-a draconian definition from the bench of how journalists should write their stories-seemed even worse. A number of news organizations, including the American Society of Newspaper Editors and Time Warner, filed amicus briefs in support of the New Yorker.

As it turned out, the opinion written by Justice Anthony Kennedy showed considerable understanding of how speech is translated into print. Kennedy condoned the widespread journalistic practice of emending quotations in the areas of grammar and syntax and went even further. stating that "deliberate alteration of the words uttered by a plaintiff

does not equate with knowledge of falsity' for the purpose of meeting the actual malice test for libel suits brought by a public figure. Changing a quotation, Kennedy reasoned, can betray a reckless disregard for the truth only "when the alteration results in a material change in the meaning conveyed by the statement." Whether that sort of alteration happened when Malcolm profiled Masson will now be decided by a trial jury in California. By Paul Gray. Reported by Georgia Harbison/New York and Julie

MALCOLM

Johnson/Washington



Milestones

RETIREMENT ANNOUNCED. By Benjamin Bradlee, 69, gruff, urbane executive editor of the Washington Post for 23 years; effective on Sept. 1, six days after his 70th birthday; in Washington. Appointed managing editor of the Post in 1965 and executive editor in 1968, Bradlee aggressively rebuilt the newspaper into one of the nation's leading dailies. Under his sway, the Post won 23 Pulitzer Prizes, including one in 1973 for its coverage of the Watergate scandal. He will be succeeded by Leonard Downie Jr., who has been the Post's managing editor since 1984.

HOSPITALIZED. Dave Dravecky, 35, former San Francisco Giants pitcher; for amputation of his left arm and shoulder to eradicate cancer; in New York City. Operated on in 1988, Dravecky won national sympathy in 1989 by defeating his doctors' predictions that he would never pitch again and hurling a victory against the Cincinnati Reds. But five days later, his pitching arm snapped and he collapsed on the mound during a game in Montreal.

HOSPITALIZED, Harry Reasoner, 68, avuncular CBS newsman; for surgery to remove a blood clot from his brain and with pneumonia; in Norwalk, Conn. Last month Reasoner became editor emeritus of the news program 60 Minutes, where he had spent 15 seasons as a correspondent.

DIED. Jean Arthur, 90, quick-witted comedic film and stage actor; in Carmel, Calif. Born Anna Green in Plattsburgh, N.Y., in 1900, she chose her professional name in honor of two of her heroes: Jeanne d'Arc and King Arthur. After a successful early career in silent motion pictures, she was featured in three hit films directed by Frank Capra: Mr. Deeds Goes to Town (1936), You Can't Take It with You (1938) and Mr. Smith Goes to Washington (1939). Her performance with Alan Ladd in the classic western Shane (1953) won critical acclaim.

DIED, Irving Rossi, 101, financier and metalurgical engineer who helped pioneer continuous casting machines for steel; in Harding Township, N.J. Hailed as a leader of the American steel industry's "technological revolution" in the early 1960s. Rossi refined a technique for producing steel in less time and at substantially lower cost than it could be made in traditional openhearth furnaces.





By STEFAN KANFER

eter Benchley's 1974 best seller, Jaws, starred the shark that ate Long Island, became a smashing film and inspired a school of sequels. After some dry runs, the novelist has taken the plunge again. Beast (Random House; 350 pages; \$21) features tentacles rather than mandibles. Otherwise it is the familiar mixture: lethal creature, relentless pursuers and vast quantities of saline solution. When waters off Bermuda become the killing grounds of a giant squid, tourism collapses. Whereupon an Ahabian fisherman, Whip Darling, clambers into a submarine and leads the hunt. All the old ingredients are present, from aqua horror ("the creature moved toward the unnatural thing") to Moby Dick dénouement (" 'Here!' he shouted, and he drove the saw deep into the vawning beak"). In between are adrenal confrontations and detailed descriptions of marine life and death-everything, in fact, but background music and special effects. Wait till next year.

The insimuations of Kitty Kelley satisfied some readers and repelled others. A third group could not get enough backstairs gossipa, and its members are the target audience for A House of Secrets (Birch Lane; 227 pages; 1838; 5). The novel has two things to recommend it a plausible first-person once of womeded innocence, and an author many control of the property of the of t

battleground, then becomes an increasingly jealous and violent competitor as Carla matures sexually. Democrats eager for political revelations will be disappointed. Throughout the misadventures, Daddy, a bicoastal businessman, is malleable and remote as he floats through years of Teflon fatherhood.

lmore Leonard controls more assets than a Mafia don. He possesses a gift for lowlife dialogue, a thorough knowledge of underworld mores and a mastery of high-tension narrative. What he does not have is a gift for whimsy, and that, alas, is the chief ingredient of Maximum Bob (Delacorte; 295 pages; \$20). The title character is a sleazoid Florida judge who likes to hit on lady cops and hand out heavy sentences. Someone tries to ice Maximum Bob with a unique weapon: a hungry alligator. There is a long enemies list, including Leanne, the judge's loony wife; Dale Crowe, the latest victim of his warped justice; Dale's murderous uncle Elvin; and Dr. Tommy Vasco, a former dermatologist with a skinful of booze and drugs. Maximum Bob's survival depends on Kathy Baker, an attractive young probation officer. She and the rest of the cast provide a few entertaining moments

for diehard fans. All others should wait until Leonard takes early retirement from the police farce.

he President, the Joint Chiefs, the CIA, an Australian doctor, an idealistic revolutionary, a dazzling lady leftist whose eves show "a vulnerability that she took such pains to conceal . . " Len Deighton is at it again, this time in the treacherous jungles of South America. Throughout MAMista (HarperCollins; 410 pages; \$21.95), guerrillas attempt to seize control of Spanish Guiana, currently under the thumb of cryptofascist goons. The covert war is rife with betrayal, and ultimately no one is pure in Deighton's 17th spy novel. Intrigues misfire; disease kills more effectively than bullets; and corruption becomes the order of the day. Even so, the characters are shrewdly delineated, and the suspense continues until the final paragraph. Moral ambiguity used to be called Greeneland. Since Graham Greene's death, that territory is open for conquest. At least a part of it ought to be renamed Deightonsville.

when the body of Carla Tate washes up a few miles south of Santa Barbara, the flashbacks unreel in A Hollywood Life (Simon & Schuster; 32) nages; 51905). The movie star, née Karen Teitel, makes het serent debut in infany, movie star, not the series of th

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COMING THIS SUMMER

Hollywood requisites: he is 30 years older. married, with strong ties to the Mob. David Freeman's pop tragedy contains snippets of biographical detail from the lives of Elizabeth Taylor, Shirley Temple, Jane Fonda and Natalie Wood. You've read the movies. Now see the book.

B ack east, show business is more peril-ous for producers than for performers. Ben Riller is an impresario with a string of hits behind him and catastrophe in sight: he wants to produce a play in verse. (There actually was a rhyming comedy on Broadway this season, La Bête, and it bombed.) Short on cash, Ben borrows from Nick Manucci, a colorful old mafioso who wants 10% interest weekly, plus 50% of the show. As events hurtle toward opening night, agitations grow and Ben becomes more and more indecisive until, like Ham-

let, he begins having conversations with his late father. Fortunately, they are witty exchanges by two convincing characters. Then again, in The Best Revenge (Random House; 240 pages; \$20) everyone is convincing. Along with Tennessee Williams, novelist Sol Stein was a member of the Playwrights Unit at the Actors Studio. His portrait of backstage back stabbing is as uncomfortable as it is amusing, but Stein obviously knows what he is writhing about.

playing the devil's advocate is Father Andrew M. Greelev's favorite avocation. His novels continually irritate the church he serves, by revealing Vatican politics and

presenting flawed priests. The narrator of An Occasion of Sin (Putnam; 352 pages; \$19.95) puts forth the most imperfect of them all. The scurrilous, irritable Father Lar McAuliffe is assigned to test the claims of sainthood for his late detested colleague, John Cardinal McGlynn, martyred in Nicaragua. Father Lar rubs his hands in anticipation-he knows all about the Cardinal's mistress, his alcoholism and his rumored misuse of church funds. But as the priest pokes through the debris of a dead man's life, he finds that His Eminence performed many hidden acts of bravery and altruism. Is he worthy of canonization? Or does the past throw too long a shadow? Can it be that Greeley is knowledgeable and skilled enough to make the reader care? Saints preserve us.

W hen his wealthy Italian mistress dies, the amoral historian Max Mather inherits first choice from among her trove of paintings. Rummaging around, he finds two panels of aged wood. On them are portraits that have never been cataloged, both by Raphael, and each is worth in excess of \$50 million. The Italian government may seize such rare items as national treasures. so Max works a scheme to spirit them out of the country. But this is only the beginning of Masterclass (St. Martin's Press; 330 pages; \$19.95). Author Morris West (The Shoes of the Fisherman, The Clowns of God) fills his palette with informed descriptions of the cutthroat gallery world and furnishes his novel with subplots concerning financial shenanigans in Zurich, the ski slopes of St.-Moritz and a murder in Manhattan. West, a longtime connoisseur, knows about the art of the deal and the dealing of the art.

novel that stops on page 36 for a brief A treatise on tea is obviously not in a hurry. Neither are the protagonists of Bronze Mirror (Henry Holt; 337 pages; \$19.95). The Yellow Em-

peror, who "discovered the wheel and the compass and such," the Silkweb Empress, responsible for "the delicate art of silkworm rearing," and their courtiers all flourish during the Song dynasty, circa 1135. Another invention is announced: the Emperor's minister has developed a set of symbols called writing. Now every royal tale can be recorded. The aristocrats begin a leisurely contest for the title of best storyteller, and during the competition every conceivable subject arises, from sexual conquest to miracles, from poetry to war. Jeanne Larsen, who previously conjured up the floating vistas of medieval China in Silk Road (1989), returns to her theme without repeating herself; this is the summer's most audacious entertainment.

mperials are not the only ones to offer beguiling short stories this season. The long-neglected art of yarn spinning is robust again, in three fine collections. Joan Chase's Bonneville Blue (Farrar, Straus & Giroux; 226 pages; \$16.95) contains 11 poignant tales. In one of the finest, Elderherries and Souls, the adolescent narrator recalls a pas-

sionate crush on her stepuncle: "I was smelling his cotton shirt, smoke and starch, and his soul, as if that, too, were a thing to be smelled." But a sudden glimpse of his unstable temper makes her realize how inexperienced she is in the ways of the world and propels her into the arms of a simpler, safer and younger admirer. The sense of yearning fills and illuminates almost all the other stories, of small-town Madame Bovaries with insensitive husbands, of divorcés who can be simultaneously tough-minded and bewildered: "I left my husband. Nearly six months ago, but I still can't believe it. I keep thinking I'll wake up.

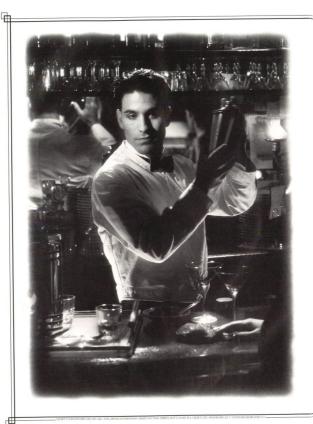
Roxana Robinson is a fly on the wall in the world of the Wasp. The people in her stories are inheritors of urbanity and indulgences. They belong to garden and bridge clubs; they have exceptional

houses, servants, luxuries-and woes. A Glimpse of Scarlet (Harper-Collins; 200 pages; \$18.95) watches a divorced mother betrayed by her son's prep school roommate; a man's failing eyesight turn into a "treason of the body"; wavering between wife and mistress, a publishing executive experiences moral vertigo in his ordered world: a wife holds her husband up to public ridicule, only to have things turn around as soon as they are alone in the bedroom. Once people like these were the focus of Henry James and Edith Wharton; in recent years Louis Auchincloss and John Cheever have been their Robinson chroniclers. shows a similar mastery of

subject and form, and she belongs in that

august company.

'Your brain can get out of hand," says one character in Typical (Farrar, Straus & Giroux; 207 pages; \$19). Another figures that "character is nothing but warts." Judging from these 23 fictions, both statements are correct. Padgett Powell's two previous books, both novels (Edisto, A Woman Named Drown), exhibited a unique gift for regional American comedy. This sparkling collection reduces his scope without limiting his style. Dr. Ordinary is anything but: "He found God with no difficulty, but locating his belief another matter." Miss Resignation "liked football and was absolutely certain that she could have been an excellent off-tackle, slant-type runner ... 44 was her number. Forty-four was her bra size, too. This had held her back in life, she felt." Occasionally the other characters in these fragments become a little too wacko, as if they were acting out for the onlookers. But Powell has a unique and vigorous imagination, and his eccentricity, studied or spontaneous, is to be treasured and closely watched.



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much enthusiasm as a new dance or jazz number.

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Cinema





ussel and Ciamaca, left, and Caubère at his boules

Reliving Impossible Dreams

From Provence, with love, come two idyllic comedies, the most beguiling films since charm went out of fashion

By RICHARD CORLISS

H igh art, we are taught, resides in the lower depths. Misery breeds profundity, the argument goes, and it has a corollary: anything cheery is a gilded lie. Drizzle is real, sunlight a sham. To focus on the sunny side, and to find resonance there, is to engage in a kind of aesthetic Reaganism. Every smile is a commercial for a product destined to be recalled: Life Lite

Every once in a while, though, an artist refutes this gloomy view. Here it is two artists: the late French author and filmmaker Marcel Pagnol and the French director Yves Robert, who have collaborated across the generations on two airily magnificent movies, My Father's Glory and My Mother's Castle, adapted from Pagnol's memoirs. These films mope not; neither do they scold. Instead, audaciously, they take a vacation from fatalism and solemnity, locating radiance in the bosom of an ordinary bourgeois family. They say that life can be beguiling, beautiful-at least in the storybook clarity of Pagnol's art Best known in the U.S. for his 1930s

films Topaze, Fanny and The Baker's Wife. and for a recent two-part movie hit (Jean de Florette and Manon of the Springs) based on his novels, Pagnol is a figure unique in 20th century French culture. He might be described as the Provencal Mark Twain, if that beloved "regional" writer had also made movies championed by critics and the public. He could be a French Frank Capra, if that populist filmmaker had also been his country's most popular playwright. Pagnol introduced French theatergoers to the accent of his own rural south. where Rs roll off the tongue like a river over its bed, and carted his movie camera out of the studio and into the side streets and luscious hills of Provence. The father of the French talkie, he was also the godfather of European neorealism. Pagnolmania the French call their long

love affair with the author-auteur (he died in 1974). That benign affliction was rekindled last year with the European release of My Father's Glory and My Mother's Castle. This summer the two-film magical memory tour comes to American screens. Rapture is the only appropriate response.

Pagnol was in his 60s when he wrote his Memories of Childhood. Robert, a friend of Pagnol's, was 70 when he directed the film adaptations. These are old men's movies about youth. They tell us that memories are precious because life is short. Mothers will die in their prime, and boys will fall in the Great War-a war that ended an age of innocence and left Pagnol with a bittersweet remembrance of things lost.

ere is the Pagnol family: father Joseph (Philippe Caubère), a schoolteacher; mother Augustine (Nathalie Roussel), a seamstress; little Marcel (Benoit Martin, then Julien Ciamaca), a serious, curious child who reads everything he can find, from cookbooks to soap wrappers. In the first hour of My Father's Glory-the most luminous part of either film, or of any film since charm went out of fashion-Joseph anxiously faces a new teaching job, Augustine gives birth to a second son (Victorien Delmare), and Marcel's maiden aunt (Thérèse Liotard) meets her future husband (Didier Pain) while walking Marcel | impossibly sunny sky.

in the park. For this middle-aged couple, love is a waltz in a summer shower. Her umbrella catches glints of a rainbow

The handsome cast performs these epiphanies in grand, graceful comic style: the actors know this is not so much real life as ideal life. And Robert, whose reputation previously rested on slight farces such as The Tall Blond Man with One Black Shoe, presents the vignettes with an assured briskness the viewer barely has time to appreciate. They are like Marcel and his brother: eager and bright, soliciting our attention, trying to crowd each other out. But gently, no elbows, Again like Marcel, these films are at once playful and spectacularly well behaved.

Once the Pagnols take a summer cottage in Bastide Neuve, the movies stay there, as if they have found their true home. Marcel makes easy friends with a local mountain boy; he feels an edgy ecstasy in the company of a precocious coquette. And the locals, who were small-minded and suspicious in the Jean de Florette films, mingle like communicants in the Pagnols' joie de vivre. A game of boules on the village green. The bagging of a couple of rock partridges. A forbidden family trip across three great estates. Nothing much happens; everything is revealed. We leave young Marcel as he stretches toward puberty, sneaking a peek at the rest of his life. The boy is ready for it. He has been raised in the glory of his father's tutorial wisdom and sheltered in the castle of his mother's embrace.

Perhaps a childhood this idvllic could exist only in an aged writer's reverie-in an attic stocked with antiques all the more precious to him because he alone realizes their value. The great gift of Pagnol's memoirs is to create a universal family out of what may have been his private fantasy. They capture the anecdotes of a Provence youth in a scrapbook that all can take delight in. This brace of films is a gift to moviegoers too. It might have fallen into their arms out of an

Designated Heroine

DYING YOUNG Directed by Joel Schumacher Screenplay by Richard Friedenberg

liary O'Neil (Julia Roberts) is poor but healthy, uneducated but full of spunky common sense. Victor Geddes (Campbell Scott) is rich but mortally ill, overeducated and understandably fearful and withdrawn. In other words, they are made for each other.

and to research or fine or history has not tained to shark, then the past year of Robert's professional history certainly has. For she has become the designated heroine of our redemptive fairy tales. Having taught a workaholic conglomentaeut how to love in Pretty Woman and herself how to overcome the battered wife syndrome in Sleeping with the Enemy, surely she can help Victor come to grips with the sadness of Dring Young.

The trouble with this story is its predictability. Act I: boy and girl meet querulously. Act II: they love rapturously, and that sends Victor's leukemia into remission. Act III: illness returns, love falters, but everyone eventually learns to face an unknowable future with a certain fortitude.

Within the confines of its conventions, the film handles its material fairly honorably. It does not prettify the rigors of cancer treatment, and it does not pump out a cloud of cheap sentiment when things start to go bad for the patient. But if anything redeems Dving Young, it is the playing. Roberts has a bead on the twentysomething spirit-its curious blend of certainty and confusion-and Scott catches the inwardness and detachment of a figure astonished to find himself exploring the near side of the far side prematurely. The cool tact of his performance is all the more effective for its understatement and-just what this picture needs-its total lack of predictability. By Richard Schickel



Roberts and Scott: twentysomething spirit





Robin Williams' Babel of Slavic accents enlivens The Fool and the Flying Ship, which is illustrated by Henrik Drescher

Video

Bringing Back Storytelling

With classic tales read by Hollywood stars, Rabbit Ears videos are a delightful antidote to Saturday-morning kidvid

ack Nicholson's best performance in the pass frie years? With all due respect to Bamma and The Wiches of Eastwick it just of all things, a children's video. He is narrator of The Elephant's Child, an adaptation of Rudyard Kipling's whimsical story about how the elephant got intrunk. Backed by the music of Bobby McFerrin, Nicholson gives a droil, sprinted reading, wrapping his "he great, gray-green, greasy Limp-pop Rever"—like a gournet savoring oysters.

By the same token, it would be hard to imagine a funnier, better modulated comic performance from Robin Williams than the Babel of Slavie accents he brings to a Russian folktale called *The Fool and the Friga Ship, Ox a more touching turn by Si-Priga Ship, Ox a more touching turn by Siperneive Japanese story <i>Peachboy. Or a* sprightlier showcase for Michael Palin's Pythonesque versatility than his rendition of *Jack and the Benstalk.*

Star power has come to children's video. More important, so has he lost art of storytelling. Credit goes to a small Connecticut company called Rabbit Ears Productions, which for six years has been assembling a library of children's literature on video. Each story is illustrated by a top-light artist, scored by a moted composer (Ry Cooder, Herbite Hancock) and narrated by a monoilighting Hollywood actor.

For kids brought up on frenetic Saturday-morning animation, these half-hour videos are leisurely paced and look comparatively low-tech. Visually, they are little more than still pictures strung together in a technique known, rather generously, as distale quality of its own. The company is the brainchild of Mark Sottnick, 46, a former high school science teacher from Philadelphia, who began making children's films in the early '80s. In 1985 he and his partner (and now wife) Doris Wilhousky produced a TV version of one of their favorite children's stories, The Velveteen Rabbit. They managed to persuade Mervl Streep-the "friend of a friend"-to read the narration. The tape won a passel of awards and set Rabbit Ears hopping. In the past year the staff has grown from four to 18, straining the capacity of the two-story barn-wood building in Westport, Conn., that serves as a homey headquarters. Sottnick is quick to admit that because

of the low action level and sophisticated content of Rabbit Ears tapes, "they're not going to be every kid's cup of tea." But he adds, "I think the stories should be what every parent strives for; not to sell kids short." In an age of Smurfs, Urkels and Ninja Turtles, that should be music to parents' ears.

Reported by William Tynan/Westport

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. In reality a fool is one who believes all women are ladies: a nigga is one who believes all ladies are bitches. And all hitches are created equal. To me all bitches are the same. money hungry scandalous, groupie hos, that's always riding on a nigga's d. always in a nigga's pocket .

APPETITE FOR DESTRUCTION

To help me get a bit more s_ you gotta comm murder in the first degree and manslaughter taking the life of his wife and young daughter. A whole city of bitches that look sucked up and the niggas are killing straight f___ up.
Whoever said what I'm savin' is for greed. denying what they're trying to feed my appetite for destruction:

that appetite is tremendous so I'm going to spend this; try for some violence because they asked me to end this.

A Nasty Jolt for the Top Pops

N.W.A.'s grotesque new rap album soars to No. 1, raising questions about why ghetto rage and the brutal abuse of women appeal to mainstream listeners

By JAY COCKS

o time to chill. Here's a representative lyric from Efil4zaggin, the latest album by the rap group N.W.A. (Niggers with Attitude): "This is the bitch that did the whole crew/ She did it so much we made bets on who the ho would love to go through . . . / And she lets you videotape her/ And if you got a gang of niggers the bitch'll let you rape her.

Last week Efil4zaggin-"niggaz4life" backwards-was the best-selling pop album in America. It was at the very top of Billboard's main chart-without benefit of a video on MTV, without the help of a hit single and, most amazingly, without getting much play on radio stations, most of which never received promotional copies. Efil-4zaggin has sold so many copies (more than 1 million) in its three weeks of release that it has sailed to the No. 1 position. That means it's the biggest thing in the music business at the moment.

That also means it could be a long, hot

N.W.A. raps nasty and righteous, with real ghetto heat, and doesn't give an inch. A couple of the new songs, such as Real Niggaz Don't Die and Appetite for Destruction, can really stir things up: their fury is incendiary. Everything good about N.W.A .- and a lot that isn't-is straight street: smarts, attitude, language, beat. Efil4zaggin is a rap mural of ghetto life, spray-painted with blood. It is for hard-case rappers, and it is no sell-out, N.W.A. got to the No. 1 spot by bearing down just as hard as it always has: its first album, Straight Outta Compton, which has sold 2 million copies, contained an off-the-cops cut called F___ the Police that catered to the resentment and rage of anyone, white or black, who ever looked down the barrel of a police special.

But if street-seasoned bloods won't be disappointed by Efil4zaggin, they may be surprised by the company they're keeping. A major, and perhaps deciding, factor in the album's startling success is the appeal it has for another crucial segment of the record-buying public: white middle-class teenage males. "T.B.W.A.s, that's who's buying N.W.A.'s album," says Joel Abramson, manager of a Tower Records branch in Woodland Hills, Calif. "Teenage boys with attitude." Woodland Hills is an affluent suburb of Los Angeles, 75 miles northwest of Compton, the black community where N.W.A. still hangs out. "These boys are looking for something to relate to, to rebel with," says Abramson, "They're rebels without a clue.'

They've got lots of company all across the country. At Tower stores nationwide, Efil4zaggin was the No. 2 seller for the week ending June 10; at Central South Music Sales, a Nashville-based distributorship, it was No. 1 for roughly the same period. Tom Myers of the Camelot Music shop in Springfield, Mo.—whose patrons tend to be suburban kids rather than ghetto gang members—says the similarly fast sales in his store "are very uncanny for a rap title."

What's up? M.C. Ren, one of the members of N.W.A., thinks he has the answer. "The record's real. It's the truth. White kids have been seeing so many negative images of blacks in the media for most of their lives. Now they have a chance to see something real. White kids got hip. What can you say?"

My what? The fact is, Effid-scagein is an entire open season for negative shereotyping. That's the classic rap posture, black male division, of course: turning the comic-book white fantasy of the black male as a murderous sexual stud into a hyperbolic reality. Rappers like NwA. and Public Enemy want to scare the living held out of white America—and the living held out of white America—the living held out of white America—the living the work and the living held out of white America—and its worst racial infiltraners come risk worst racial infiltraners come risk worst racial infiltraners come risk worst racial infiltraners come infiltraners come in the state of the company of the company of the state of the company of t

This makes for some interesting distinctions in the group's audience. Timothy white, editor of Billboard, thinks N.W.A.'s attraction for white male teems is "danger at a safe distance." Jon Sheeter, the Harvard-educated editor of The Source, as monthly journal of hip-hop culture, points out that although "is a cool status symbol among white kids to like and identify with among white kids to like and identify with cooker! like them They was community doesn't like them. They was a community doesn't like them. They was a community intelligent rap out there, and N.W.A. is negative to the externe."

Women, even more than cops, take the brunt of the abuse on the album. Listening to a continual obscene litary about bitches, on, and the things they want or are willing to do with the group's sect organs is an exerNWA. seem baand, it makes them look awful. MC. Ren doesn't see it that way, and. "Ever since well dist about Bite It (on the EP 100 Miles and Rammin", girst selley like Siré Swillowed It al tot. The only exople like Siré Swillowed It al tot. The only exople who don't listen to it," and are the people who don't listen to it," and are the people who don't listen to it," and are the people who don't listen to it," and are the people who don't listen to it," and are the people who don't listen to it," and are the people who don't listen to it," and are the people who don't listen to it." and are the people who don't listen to it." and are the people who don't listen to it." and are the people who don't listen to it." and are the people who don't listen to it." and are the people who don't listen to it." and are the people who don't listen to it." and are the people who don't listen to it." and are the people who don't listen to it." and are the people who don't listen to it." and are the people who don't listen to it." and are the people who don't listen to it." and are the people who don't listen to it." and are the people who don't listen to it." and are the people who are the people wh

Not quite. Over in England, where authorities are mulling a ban on the new album, Sinéad O'Connor has backed off her previous vigorous support of the group. She told the New Musical Express that N.W.A.'s "attitudes have become increasingly dangerous. The way they deal with women in their somes is pathetic."

N.W.A. has serious stuff to say, but they are stifled by their ravening sexism. No excuse cuts it, no rationalization holds. Until that attitude changes, "the world's most dangerous group," as it bills itself on Efil4zuggin, will be a threat above all to itself. —Reported by Sally B. Donnelly! Los Angleis and Glinia Bellatante/New York

Look, Ma—No Amps!

MTV's Unplugged gets high-powered rockers to loosen up and go acoustic, but the results are still electrifying

E bix Costello is only 30 ecconds into his set before a small audience in a Los Angeles TV studio when—boing/—a bro-ken guitar string brings the music to a halt. During rehearsals, Costello has already groused about the lighting and the sound, so the tension in the wings is palpable. But the mercurial rocker calmy accepts a new starts again, hanching anto an account of the cost of the co

sion, which debuted last week at No. 14 on Billboard's chart of Top Pop Albums.

When Unplugged was launched in January 1990, it started out by presenting such offbeat performers as Sinéad O'Connor, Neil Young and Squeeze. Then an appearance by ex-Eagle Don Henley "upped the ante," according to Mry creative director Judy McGrath. Now the show regularly ranks as one of the network's best-performing programs.



Low-key coup: R.E.M. strumming its hits without the help-or hindrance-of high wattage

nine songs and an hour later, the audience is clamoring for more.

For the creators of Unplugged, MTV's hit program featuring all acoustic performances, such unstrung moments are part of the fun. "Everything's last-minute, and that's the way we like it," producer Alex Coletti says of the Costello segment, which will air next week. "It gives the show the loose feel we want."

Unplugged's easygoing atmosphere attracts stars. Elton John, Paul McCartney and Sting are among the names who have strummed or banged out their hits without the help—or hindrance—of amplifiers and electric guitars. Performing without high wattage, muses Sting, makes it necessary in "or rethink the music in terms of the artrangement, dynamics and presentation." Vou are forced to exeavate the structure of a song from under layers of synthesizers and overdubbed voices."

Performers are also drawn by the opportunity to play for 150 or so fans in a relatively intimate, informal setting. McCartney found the experience "a bit like going back to the old days, playing small clubs, so you get a pretty good idea of how your set is going down." The ex-Beatle's set went down so well that he has released a limitededition, 500,000-copy recording of the sexIn April it scored a coup by snagging R.E.M. for one of only two concerts the band performed in the U.S. to promote its No. 1 album, *Out of Time*. Last month *Unphagead* broke musical ground by offering an acoustic jam headlined by rappers L.L. Cool J and De La Soul that exposed the R.-and-B. roots of the rap sound. "It sounded like something that would never work," says McGrath.

For that matter, doesn't Unplugged, with its absence of flashy imagery and souped-up electronics, run against the whole idea of Mrty? "In some ways it sounds like it would be anathema," McGrath concedes. "But there's something about Unplugged that's very simple the there's somethody out they can be there's somethed of the there's somethed that we have a something about Unplugged that's very simple there's somethed out they can be the concerned that there's somethed that we have a something that the sound the sound that the so

McGrath hopes to continue expanding Unplugged's appeal by signing upmore women and trying provocative experiments like, say, a collaboration between Panamanian singer Rubén Bladestween Panamanian singer Rubén Bladesman New York City rocker Lou Reed.
Meanwhile, Unplugged has proved that and
Yr doesn't need electricity to keep lis
audiences wired. —By Guy Garcia.

With reporting by Dan CrayLea Angel.



Barbara Ehrenreich

Why Don't We Like The Human Body?

here's something wrong when a \$7 movie in the mall can There's something wrong when a 37 move in the old leave you with post-traumatic stress syndrome. In the old days killers merely stalked and slashed and strangled. Today they flay their victims and stash the rotting, skinless corpses. Or they eat them filleted, with a glass of wine, or live and with the skin still on when there's no time to cook. It's not even the body count that matters anymore. What counts is the number of ways to trash the body: decapitation, dismemberment, impalings and (ranging into the realm of the printed word) eye gougings, power drillings and the application of hungry rodents to some poor victim's innards.

All right, terrible things do happen. Real life is filled with serial killers, mass murderers and sickos of all degrees. Much of the 20th century, it could be argued, has been devoted to ingenious production and disposal of human corpses. But the scary thing is not that eye gougings and vivisections and meals of human flesh may, occasionally, happen. The scary thing, the thing that ought to make the heart pound and the skin go cold

and tingly, is that somehow we find this fun to watch. There are some theories, of course. In what might be called the testosterone theory, a congenital error in the wiring of the male brain leads to a confusion between violence and sex. Men get off on hideous mayhem, and women, supposedly, cover their eyes. Then there's the raging puritan theory, which is based on the statistical fact that those who get slashed or eaten on the screen are usually guilty of a little fooling around themselves. It's only a tingle of rectitude we feel, according to this, when the bad girl finally gets hers. There's even an invidious comparison theory: we enjoy seeing other people get sautéed or chain-sawed because at least it's not happening to us

The truth could be so much simpler that it's staring us in the face. There's always been a market for scary stories and vicarious acts of violence. But true horror can be bloodless, as in Henry James' matchless tale. The Turn of the Screw. Even reckless violence, as in the old-time western, need not debauch the human form. No, if offerings like American Psycho and The Silence of the Lambs have anything to tell us about ourselves, it must be that at this particular historical moment,

we have come to hate the body.

Think about it. Only a couple of decades ago, we could conceive of better uses for the body than as a source of meat or leather. Sex, for example. Sex was considered a valid source of thrills even if both parties were alive and remained so throughout the act. Therapists urged us to "get in touch with our bodies": feminists celebrated "our bodies, ourselves." Minimally, the body was a cuddly personal habitat that could be shared with special loved ones. Maximally, it was a powerhouse offering multiple orgasms and glowing mind-body epiphanies. Skin was something to massage or gently stroke

Then, for good reasons or bad, we lost sex. It turned out to ead deadly viruses. It offended the born-again puritans. It led to messy entanglements that interfered with networking and power lunching. Since there was no way to undress for success, we switched in the mid-'80s to food. When we weren't eating, we were watching food-porn starring Julia Child or working off calories on the Stairmaster. The body wasn't perfect, but it could, with effort and willpower, be turned into a

lean, mean eating machine.

And then we lost food. First they took the red meat, the white bread and the Chocolate Decadence desserts. Then they came for the pink meat, the cheese, the butter, the tropical oils and, of course, the whipped cream, Finally, they wanted all protein abolished, all fat and uncomplex carbohydrates, leaving us with broccoli and Metamucil. Everything else, as we know, is transformed by our treacherous bodies into insidious, slow-acting toxins

So no wonder we enjoy seeing the human body being shredded, quartered, flayed, filleted and dissolved in vats of acid. It let us down. No wonder we love heroes and megavillians like RoboCop and the Terminator, in whom all soft, unreliable tissue has been replaced by metal alloys. Or that we like reading (even in articles deeply critical of the violence they manage to summarize) about diabolical new uses for human flesh. It's been, let's face it, a big disappointment. May as well feed it to the rats or to any cannibalistically inclined killer still reckless enough to indulge in red meat.

No. it's time for a truce with the soft and wayward flesh. Maybe violent imagery feeds the obsessions of real-life sickos. Or maybe, as some argue, it drains their sickness off into harmless fantasy. But surely it cheapens our sense of ourselves to think that others, even fictional others, could see us as little more than meat. And it's hard to believe all this carnage doesn't dull our response to the global wastage of human flesh

in famine, flood and war.

We could start by admitting that our '70s-era expectations were absurdly high. The body is not a reliable source of ecstasy or transcendental insight. For most of our lives, it's a shambling, jury-rigged affair, filled with innate tensions, contradictions, broken springs. Hollywood could help by promoting better uses for the body, like real sex, by which I mean sex between people who are often wrinkled and overweight and sometimes even fond of each other. The health meanies could relax and acknowledge that one of the most marvelous functions of the body is, in fact, to absorb small doses of whipped cream and other illicit substances

Then maybe we can start making friends with our bodies again. They need nurture and care, but they should also be good for a romp now and then, by which I mean something involving dancing or petting as opposed to dicing and flaying. But even "friends" is another weirdly alienated image. The truth, which we have almost forgotten, is that Bodies "R" Us.



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A Mation of Meighborhoods

PAW OPENS THE OUTDOORS

TO THE DISABLED

merica's national parks are now more accessible to people with disabilities, thanks to a unique group of volunteers based in

Empire, Colorado.

The group is called PAW—
Physically Challenged Access to
the Woods. It began in 1989
when Carol Hunter wanted to
write a book about nature areas

accessible to the disabled.
"I immediately found a big
problem: There were very few,"
she reports. "So we decided to
start right here and make one."

Everyone Pitched In

PAW's first project was Yeoman Pat, a meadow-filled area in nearby Eagle, Colorado. Hunter and newspaper editor Cliff Thompson—an avid fly-sibserman who is himself paraplegic—gathered voluniteers and materials to improve the park with help from the local Rotary Club and the Forest Service.

Construction projects involved building tent platforms for physically challenged campers and installing wide benches in rest rooms for people in wheelchairs. A fishing dock was built for easy wheelchair use, even in wet weather. A local pipe company worked with artists to create tactile interpretive material at archeological sites for visitors with visual impairments. A local hotel allowed employees time off to build a nature trail.

"We call it a family trail because it's for everyone," says Hunter. "It's for your grandfather who had a stroke, your small children, your brother in a wheelchair from Vietnam, your aunt with cataracts."

PAW volunteer Al Laurenson, who's a Forest Service employee, knows the importance of PAW's work firsthand: While fighting the Yosemite fires two years ago, he was injured by a

falling tree and now uses a wheelchair.

The Word Spreads

Yeoman Park was such a success as a prototype of accessible design, the word spread west. Now more than 1,000 volunteers from four PAW chapters are active in Colorado and Idaho, Volunteers are always busy. They conduct accessibility evaluations, coordinate contributions of labor and materials, educate the public about barrier-free design and act as an information clearinglouse.

"It's great to see how we make these beautiful spaces more convenient and useable to all visitors," says PAW chairman Steve Fausel.

Bill Ivy, a Forest Service engineer, agrees. The healing power of nature is enormous, especially for those who might have trouble getting out and away to the outdoors, he says. We want to make outdoor life available to everyone and PAW is helping us make that goal a reality."



Idaho PAW volunteer Larry Thrasher enjoys a Lower Salmon River Gorge campsite.

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